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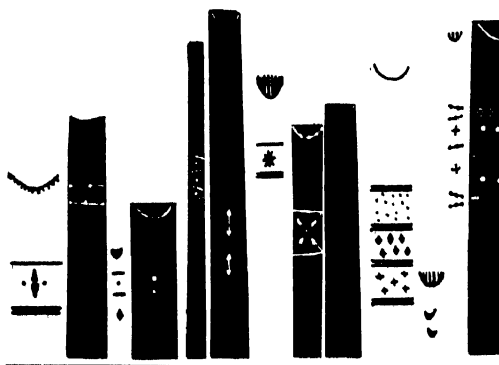
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The Hakluyt Society

CIVIL WARS IN PERU

THE WAR OF LAS SALINAS

SECOND SERIES

No. LIV

ISSUED FOR 1923

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CIVIL WARS IN PERU

THE
WAR OF
LAS SALINAS

BY

PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEÓN

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.,
F.R.S., D.Sc.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

A TRANSLATION of the First Part of the Chronicle of Pedro de Cieza de León was presented to the members of the Hakluyt Society in 1864. It is, in the main, a very carefully written geographical introduction to what was to follow. In 1883 the Second Part formed one of the Society's volumes, being a most valuable account of the civilization of the Incas. The Third Part treated of the discovery of Peru by Pizarro, and the insurrection of the Indians. It has not yet been found. The Fourth Part tells the story of the civil wars in Peru, in five books. Of these the three first have been found and printed at Madrid quite recently. A translation of Book III on the war of Quito, or a part of it, has already been made for the Society, and published. Book I (the war between Pizarro and Almagro) and Book II (the war of the young Almagro¹) have recently been discovered and published at Madrid. Book IV (the war of Huarina) and Book V (the war of Xaquixaguana) have not yet been found.

The present volume contains a translation of Book I, intituled *The War of Las Salinas*. It is a dramatic story admirably told by one who arrived on the scene very soon after the events. Cieza de León was present at the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro at Xaquixaguana. He knew personally, and took evidence from, a number of the principal actors in the previous civil wars. He also obtained copies of all the principal documents connected with those troubled times. No other writer had the same advantages, and Cieza de León must, therefore, be accepted as the best authority. He strove to be impartial, he saw the good and bad points on both sides, but he had an evident leaning on the side of Almagro.

I know of only one writer who was actually present and an actor in that war of the Salt Pits. Don Alonso Henríquez de Guzman wrote a strange autobiography, which was edited

¹ Published by the Society as *The War of Chupas*.

for the members of the Hakluyt Society more than fifty years ago¹. Don Alonso was a strong partisan of Almagro, and was much employed in the negotiations. But he does not throw much light on the story, and he is not reliable. Much more is told of his proceedings by Cieza de León, than in his own autobiography. Yet he is the only writer who was actually an actor in the events he describes. Next to him, as regards authenticity and nearness to the events, but far above him as a credible witness and a responsible narrator, comes Cieza de León.

A few words are needful to explain to the reader the actual position when the story begins. Pizarro had marched from the sea-coast to Caxamarca, had captured and killed the Inca Atahualpa, had been joined by Almagro, and the two partners had arrived at Cuzco. Pizarro had with him his three brothers Hernando, Juan, and Gonzalo Pizarro, and a uterine brother, Francisco Martín de Alcántara. Hernando Pizarro had gone to Spain to obtain grants for the conquerors, and with the royal fifths. Next, Pedro de Alvarado, the famous companion of Cortés, hearing of the riches of Peru and eager to secure a share, fitted out a large expedition and, landing on the coast, began a march towards Quito. In penetrating the forest he and his people passed through great hardships and sufferings. Almagro marched with a force to oppose him, and eventually Alvarado consented to retire, giving up all his equipment, and allowing his captains to return with him or remain in Peru. In exchange he was to receive a large sum of money. Pizarro faithfully abided by the agreement, and Alvarado paid him a visit on the coast before departing. Several distinguished captains remained, including Alvarado's uncle and brother, who attached themselves to Almagro.

Pizarro was selecting a site, near the coast, for a capital, and on Epiphany, 1535, he founded the City of the Kings, later known as Lima, with its seaport of El Callao.

The next event was the departure of Almagro with a large force from Cuzco for the conquest of Chile. Before Almagro

¹ *Life and Acts of Don Alonso Enriquez de Guzman 1518-1543* (Hakluyt Society, 1862).

started on this expedition to Chile, the two partners, Pizarro and Almagro, made a solemn agreement at Cuzco, on June 12th, 1535, by which the two friends bound themselves to preserve their friendship inviolate, and to divide the profits of all future conquests. Almagro's chief captains were Diego and Gómez de Alvarado, Rodrigo Orgóñez, Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves, Alonso de Montemayor, and Cristóbal de Sotelo.

Then Hernando Pizarro returned from Spain, having obtained a knighthood of Santiago for himself, and a grant of kingdoms for his brother and for Almagro. The royal order was that the measurement was to commence at Santiago on the coast in $1^{\circ} 50' N.$, that Pizarro's province was to commence there and extend to the south for 200 leagues, afterwards increased to 270 leagues, measured on a meridian, and that Almagro's province was to commence where Pizarro's ended. This brought Pizarro's boundary a little to the south of Pisco or San Gallan in $14^{\circ} S.$ and brought Cuzco, which is in $13^{\circ} 30' S.$, well within it. But no one knew this at the time. There was to be an arbitrator to fix the boundary, guided by the observations of pilots. Pizarro, knowing the weakness of his old partner, and how easily he was led, felt anxious that there should be an order that the two Governors should remain in their present positions until the arbitrator had given his award. With this object he sent an officer whom he could trust, named Pedro Anzures, to Spain to request that such an order might be given.

Soon after the departure of Almagro for Chile, the young Inca Manco escaped from the Spaniards and headed a general insurrection to drive them out of the country. Cuzco was closely besieged by the natives and defended, with a handful of men, by the three brothers of Pizarro. Juan was killed, while Hernando and Gonzalo continued the defence until the siege was raised. The Governor Pizarro was also besieged at Lima. He sent for aid to Santo Domingo and to Cortés at Mexico. Succour, in arms and men, soon arrived, which obliged the natives also to raise the siege of Lima. Pizarro then, not knowing what had been the fate of Cuzco, had

sent a troop under Alonso de Alvarado for the relief of his besieged brothers and their gallant comrades, while he intended to follow with another force.

Meanwhile a follower of Almagro, named Juan de Herrada, had brought the news of the grant to the two governors to the camp of Almagro. The captains believed that Chile and Charcas were poor countries, while the city of Cuzco was the most important place in Peru. So they declared that it was within the province of Almagro, some of them going so far as to declare that Lima also belonged to Almagro. They abandoned their Chilean enterprise, little dreaming of the mineral wealth on which they were turning their backs, and marched on Cuzco.

Hernando Pizarro, with his brother Gonzalo, was just recovering from the effects of the long siege, his men and officers were much exhausted, and numerically very much weaker than Almagro's army, while the reinforcements under Alonso de Alvarado had been delayed on their march. But Hernando Pizarro was the legally constituted Lieutenant at Cuzco, of his brother the Governor.

The dramatic story here told by Cieza de León opens with one part of Almagro's army encamped at Urcos, 15 leagues south of Cuzco; while Almagro himself had advanced down the valley of the Vilcamayu, in hopes of forming an alliance with Inca Manco, and inducing him, who was presumed to bear great animosity against the Spaniards in Cuzco after raising the siege, to help in the attack on that city.

Cieza de León refers, in three places, to his facilities for obtaining correct information. He received first-hand details from Montemayor, Sayavedra and other captains of Almagro, as well as from those who were with Hernando Pizarro. He points out that other writers have written of these events from the accounts of violently prejudiced and untruthful people. They, sitting in their own houses, pretend to understand events which, in order to obtain a correct knowledge of them, had obliged him to travel over the countries themselves for sixteen years, and even then he did not completely understand everything. He had used the processes of notaries

and the records of municipalities, having found the originals after much trouble and at the cost of his own money. From beginning to end his narratives are based on the testimony of these and other documents, and on the direct evidence of numerous witnesses on both sides.

There could not be a higher or more reliable authority. One of the chief actors in this dramatic story was Don Diego de Almagro, who had been raised to the rank of Adelantado by a recent royal order. Almagro is said to have been a founding and his age was unknown, but he was then an old man. He had been efficient and energetic in bringing supplies and reinforcements to his partner Pizarro, during the discovery and invasion of Peru; and he was prompt in checking the advance of Pedro de Alvarado. But he was a man of weak and vacillating character, a tool in the hands of others. He is described as a little man with an ugly face, and a great talker. He was naturally kind hearted, and there must have been something lovable in his disposition to have won the devotion of an honourable and chivalrous knight like Diego de Alvarado, as well as that of a ruthless and unscrupulous soldier such as Rodrigo de Orgóñez.

Cieza de León gives a vivid description of the approach of Almagro's army, the treacherous seizure of Cuzco during a truce, and of the heroic defence of Hernando Pizarro until his house was burnt over his head. Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro were thrown into prison and treated with every kind of indignity. Alonso de Alvarado was approaching with reinforcements. Almagro attacked and routed his forces, taking him prisoner. Orgóñez strongly urged Almagro to behead Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado. Influenced by the last who advised him, Almagro had actually ordered Alvarado to be beheaded, and Diego de Alvarado¹ arrived only just in time to prevent it.

¹ The number of Alvarados is confusing. There was Don Pedro de Alvarado who invaded Peru but was induced to retire. There were his uncle Diego de Alvarado and his brother Gómez de Alvarado, who became captains under Almagro. Alonso de Alvarado appears to have been no relation of Don Pedro. Then there was a Gómez de Alvarado *the lad*, who appears to have been no relation to the captain Gómez de Alvarado of

In all these proceedings Almagro was entirely in the wrong. He had no right whatever to seize Cuzco until the arbitrator had decided the boundary. He had no right to imprison the Pizarros; and he had no right to attack Alvarado.

The Governor Pizarro was on the march to Cuzco with a second reinforcement, and was still at La Nasca on the coast, when the startling news arrived that Almagro had seized Cuzco, that his brothers were prisoners, and that Alvarado had been attacked and defeated.

Francisco Pizarro was an extraordinary man. He began with every conceivable disadvantage, and for years he appeared to be no better than the cruel ruffians he had to live and work with. Yet he had the making of a great soldier and a great statesman. His opportunity came and he seized it. The story of his drawing a line on the sand, and calling upon those who were ready to face dangers with him to cross it, is heroic. His cruelties to natives who were in his way or who opposed him were execrable, though much must be set down to the times, rather than to the man. When he found himself in a position of great power and responsibility his finer qualities were developed. He was not found wanting. In his latter years Pizarro was a statesman. Dauntless as a soldier, forming his own decisions, working for the good of the country according to his lights, he had risen to the occasion. As a ruler he desired the welfare of the natives, as every conqueror with any sense must do. The overworking, the cruelties leading, as Cieza de León bears witness, to extinction in some parts, were due to the brutal civil wars. There was some fear of checking the atrocities of the soldiers, during civil wars, lest they should desert to the other side. But doubtless the leaders and captains, seeking for grants of estates with Indians, must have discountenanced and disliked the cruelty of their men. Pizarro and his brothers certainly did. When the news of Almagro's excesses reached

Almagro's army, though he is confused with his namesake by some writers. There was also an Hernando de Alvarado at the battle of the Salt Pits. Finally there was a García de Alvarado who first appears as an accomplice of the assassins of Pizarro, a truculent young ruffian, finally murdered by the younger Almagro.

Pizarro at La Nasca, he was at first almost paralyzed. The blow was so terrible and so unexpected. He saw that his brothers and Alvarado were in extreme danger, with influential men like Orgóñez clamouring for their deaths. He must temporize. He resolved to send a sort of embassy to Almagro to see if some settlement could be arrived at. The envoys failed. The negotiations are very fully described by Cieza de León. Then Almagro was taken by his captains to the coast valleys, being established at Chíncha while their claims now extended so as even to include Lima.

Cieza de León gives a minute and very interesting account of the escape of Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado from prison and their arrival at Lima. His narrative of the subsequent negotiations between Pizarro and Almagro is by far the most authentic and detailed that has yet been published. Pizarro was obliged to temporize; for his brother Hernando was in extreme danger, Orgóñez always urging his execution and Almagro vacillating and unreliable. The arbitrator was actually chosen by Almagro, yet the sentence was inevitable. It was that Almagro must abandon Cuzco until the royal arbitrator has settled the boundary, and that Hernando Pizarro must be released. Almagro and his captains refused to abide by the sentence they had sworn to accept. Pizarro was still full of anxiety for his brother's safety, resumed negotiations, and even consented that Almagro should retain Cuzco until the boundary was finally fixed by the royal arbitrator. At this juncture the captain Pedro Anzures arrived from Spain with the order that both Governors were to remain where they were, Pizarro in the coast valleys and Almagro in Chile or Charcas, until the boundary should be finally settled. Almagro and his captains refused to obey the royal order, having previously refused to abide by the award of their own arbitrator. They were in open rebellion. Yet it was at this very juncture that Almagro resolved to release Hernando Pizarro. Orgóñez protested strongly, and this time he was right, for the release of Hernando was the death knell of Orgóñez and his party.

Hernando Pizarro was the ablest man in Peru at that time. He was vindictive, and Orgóñez had very good reason to fear

him and desire his death. But he was not a man to allow private revenge to interfere with his public policy. His liberation put an end to any necessity for further temporizing. The Governor was getting old, and, feeling some of the infirmities of age, he decided to return to Lima, entrusting Hernando with the command of a well-equipped army, and with the conduct of the campaign against Almagro.

The forces of Almagro, led by Orgóñez, who was an able and experienced soldier, retreated from the coast, and occupied the heights of Huaytara in the Andes, which may be approached either by the valley of Pisco or by the valley of Yca. As the Almagristas were at San Gallan on the coast, they appear to have ascended the Pisco valley. From Huaytara they made raids into the coast valleys for provisions.

Hernando Pizarro's first operation was to surprise the Almagristas and drive them from their strong position at Huaytara. The expedition was admirably planned and quite successful, forcing the Almagristas further into the interior on the road back to Cuzco. Hernando returned to the coast by the route of Ayasi into the Yca valley, intending to take another route to Cuzco. The account of the Huaytara episode by Cieza de León is by far the best, and is really well told. But no early writer gives any idea of the grandeur and beauty of the scenery in descending from the heights of Huaytara to the valley of Yca.

Hernando Pizarro had determined to march to Cuzco and put an end to the trouble, by adopting another route, starting from La Nasca on the coast. Geographically this march over the Andes and through the province of Aymaraes to the Apurimac is of special interest, and it is well described by Cieza de León. Then came the battle of the Salt Pits and the temporary destruction of the Almagrista faction. Cieza de León gives the best and most detailed account of this battle.

I do not doubt that Hernando Pizarro had no intention of putting Almagro to death at first. But when he found that the defeated faction was implacable, that there were plots for his own murder and the escape of the old Adelantado, his mind was changed. He then came to the conclusion that, as a question of public policy, Almagro's death was a necessity.

Having once made up his mind he was inexorable. He was not a man to shirk responsibility. To me the evidence is quite clear that he never told his brother until the execution had taken place, and never asked his permission¹. He knew that it would not be given, yet he believed that the execution was necessary. It was quite in keeping with all that is known of his character that Hernando Pizarro should have taken the whole responsibility on his own shoulders. He caused evidence to be compiled and a voluminous brief to be drawn up, which he thought would exonerate him.

When the Governor Francisco Pizarro received the news of the battle of the Salt Pits, he was playing at bowls. He resolved to set out from Lima and proceeded to Cuzco with an escort. One of his companions was the Bishop of Quito, whose evidence should settle the question of the Governor's knowledge or sanction of Almagro's execution². He says that Pizarro knew nothing until he arrived at Abancay when the news came of the execution. He sat for a long time with his eyes on the ground and full of tears. His thoughts were on his old comrade and partner in their early days. When the Governor Pizarro, now created a marquis, reached Cuzco, his brothers were away in the far south.

Hernando Pizarro set out for Spain by way of Mexico with many justificatory documents, and a large supply of the precious metals constituting the royal fifths. Before starting he urged upon his brother very special care of his person as there would be great danger from some of the more desperate followers of Almagro. But the Marquis would take no heed.

Don Diego de Alvarado, the devoted friend of Almagro, also returned to Spain to represent the case of his old master and the claim of his son. He challenged Hernando Pizarro to single combat, but died four days after sending the challenge. Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzman also returned and prepared accusations against Hernando. The final decision

¹ Sir Arthur Helps agrees. Prescott does not.

² Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzman entirely exonerated Hernando Pizarro of any but a public motive in the execution of Almagro, in his letter to the Emperor, and told quite a different story in his statement to the Council of the Indies. He is not to be relied upon. *Life and Acts of Don Alonzo*, pp. 151-152 and 155 (Hakluyt Society, 1862).

was fatal to the prospects and hopes of the executioner of Almagro. Hernando Pizarro was sent as a prisoner to the castle of Medina del Campo. There he was confined for twenty-two years. His imprisonment cannot have been very severe, for when the daughter of Don Francisco Pizarro by an Inca princess arrived in Spain, Hernando Pizarro was allowed to marry his niece Doña Francisca, who came to share his imprisonment. He not only survived his long detention in the old castle, but when he was at length released he continued to live for many years at his native home in Estremadura, where he died at a very advanced age. His descendants were created Marquises of the Conquest.

Cieza de León concludes his narrative with the brilliant campaign of Gonzalo Pizarro in Charcas, and the peaceful progress of the Marquis in the southern provinces. From the arrival of Almagro from Chile to the last peaceful progress of Pizarro, the interest of the narrative is well sustained. It is a dramatic and interesting story, and I have thought it desirable that the attention of the reader should not be interrupted by irrelevant digressions. I have, therefore, moved the chapters on the affairs of Quito and Popayán into an appendix.

There was great advantage to geography to be derived from the civil wars in Peru. For as soon as one was over, the conqueror was most anxious to give employment to the soldiers on both sides. This was sought by the organization of expeditions of discovery into the vast forest region to the east of the Andes. Soon after the battle of the Salt Pits, Hernando Pizarro sanctioned an expedition under Pedro de Candía into the montaña of Paucartambo, of which Cieza de León gives a full account. Next the captain Pedro de Anzures led an expedition by the montaña of Marcapatra towards the Ynambari, but it is difficult to make out his exact route. He came out through Caravaya, after much suffering and great loss of life. There are also accounts of the expeditions of Alvarado and Mercadillo into Moyobamba and the valley of the Huallaga. These interesting chapters are also placed in an appendix to avoid any interruption of the main story, and to allow the stream of narrative to flow on without obstruction or digression.

CHAPTER I

How the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, going by the Valley of Yucay, arrived where there was a garrison of the Inca, and of what took place with the Inca's captain who was there.

AS yet the Indians were not pacified, nor had the Spaniards entirely won their friendship. The Spaniards still kept in their houses the clothes, swords, and shields used when they discovered these provinces. The cities they had so successfully founded had not yet the importance, nor the adornment with sumptuous edifices, such as might be expected to have been made by Spaniards. The cords still existed with which the plans of such cities had been laid out, but the plans had no special value, for foundations were needed before magnificence could follow.

Finally the southern regions or equinoctial provinces had become generally known through the reports of the victory won by the Spaniards.

The Spaniards then turned their arms against each other, with great cruelty and recklessness, not having the fear of God nor reverence for His Imperial Majesty before their eyes, nor yet loyalty enough to comply with the behests of their own fathers, nor love for their brethren.

In order that they might commit greater cruelties on each other, they even deserted their wives and children, not perceiving that peace has such excellent and singular power that without it the world could no longer exist. Indeed it would wholly perish, for peace keeps all things in continual rest and tranquillity and enables them to grow, being the mother and originator of all virtues. Thucidides says, that peace is the best of all good things, and war the worst of all evils. St Augustine says that a peaceful man has a steadfast heart and is surrounded by a company of angels, and is full of the fruits of delight; all his affairs work for peace. He flies from

discord, illumines the secrets of the soul, and is worthy to be the companion of angels. Other great and learned men condemn wars and speak in praise of peace. The Spaniards of Peru were not capable of such kindness but were ready to fly at one another's throats¹. The first disturbance and civil war in that kingdom was excited in 1537 and lasted until 1548, when the last battle took place, in the valley of Xaquixaguana between the President Gasca and Gonzalo Pizarro². I should be well pleased, if I had not to write of such sad events, but in order that the coming ages may understand the mad proceedings of these people, although my dull mind may be as rugged as of yore, I promise to trim my quill well to relate them.

He who has read the preceding volume³ will remember how I said in it that the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro left Captain Juan de Sayavedra in Urcos with 250 Spaniards, horse and foot, while he, with the rest, numbering 200, went to the valley of Yucay where he thought that Manco Inca would come to him peacefully as it had been so arranged by letters. Leaving Urcos he marched until he arrived at a pueblo called Calica, where there was an Inca garrison. The captain of this garrison was a valiant youth of the lineage of Hanan-Cuzco, and was stationed there with six thousand warriors to do what he might be ordered.

As Manco Inca had decided to go to Yucay, he had sent instructions to this chief not to attack Almagro, until it was settled by them at Yucay what should be done.

When Almagro and his Spaniards arrived at the place where the garrison was stationed, he ordered the cavalry to skirmish in the plaza which was near where the Indians were camped, and some of the horses, not well controlled, came to a halt among the Indians in such a way that some of them were trampled underfoot.

Then the captain, whose age was about twenty-five, well

¹ Literally were knives for their throats.

² This was not the last civil war. The rebellion of Giron followed a few years afterwards.

³ Not yet discovered, if indeed it still exists.

made and manly in appearance, went up to the Adelantado Almagro and said:

I, with the men you see with me, oh great Captain, am keeping the frontier against the Christians who are in Cuzco. As I knew that you were coming from the direction of Chile, and had formed your camp at Urcos, I went to entreat Manco Inca to give me leave to make war on you with those under my command. For as you marched without care under the impression that we were going to make peace with you, I think that I might have done you Christians great damage. However, Manco Inca decided not to take my sensible advice, but rather to give ear to your persuasions, you, who are as much his enemies as those in Cuzco. Think not, oh Almagro, that the neighing of your horses frightens me, nor the sight of the iron points of the lances you carry. What has surprised me is that you have had the temerity to enter these parts, for those of Cuzco have always feared to do so. If it were not for the orders of the Inca against it, I would do a great thing, that is I would surround your men and kill them so that not one would be left alive.

He made this speech to the Adelantado with such pride and haughtiness that I know not whether it arose from the strength he felt in his own arm or the power of those under his command, since he showed little fear of those who, by the divine will, had conquered the Empire of the Indies. Don Alonzo de Montemayor was present at this interview and he told me what had passed.

The Adelantado, unmoved by anything that had been said, answered laughingly

It is quite clear that you are a boy and that, by reason of your youth, you do not wish that what you have said should be taken seriously. Yet if you knew how resolute and valiant the Spaniards are who come with me, I am sure you would speak with more care, and would remember the experience of your elders who, notwithstanding all the forces they brought against Cuzco, were unable to defend themselves against the two hundred Spaniards who held it. Do you want me to believe that you have now the valour to attack the five hundred Spaniards who accompany me, so dexterous in fighting from having no other employment but warfare? Were it not for the negotiations between the Inca and myself I would chastise you. But I will not do so for the Spaniards

are not accustomed to kill or capture anyone by treachery or stratagems, although they may know them to be deceitful and of evil intention.

The Indian captain then answered and said:

I am unable in any way to prove my power against you that you may know my valour which I have by aid of the Sun, or I believe that none of those who come with you would fail to be left dead on the field. I will send messengers to the Inca to relate what I have said to you.

Almagro laughed still more, saying that the captain could send what message he liked to the Inca.

As soon as this had happened Almagro left the place.

CHAPTER II

How GONZALO PIZARRO arrived at the city of Cuzco, and how it was resolved by the Spaniards to reconnoitre the force that was at Urcos, and what happened.

WHEN Gonzalo Pizarro had returned to Cuzco, it became known to Hernando Pizarro that Almagro had gone to Yucay to treat for peace with Manco Inca, having left the greater part of his force at Urcos. Hernando, therefore, called a meeting of all the principal people of the city. And there came before him the captains Gonzalo Pizarro, Gabriel de Rojas¹, Hernan Ponce de Leon, Pedro del Barco, Diego Mendez¹, the treasurer Alonzo Riquelme¹, Don Alonzo Enriquez¹, Pedro de los Rios and others. Hernando Pizarro told them the news he had from the Indians that Almagro had come back from Chile with all the men he had taken from that city. This news, he said, was doubtful, for it seemed to him that as the Adelantado had been so desirous of discovering new lands and had made such a point of it, and considering that he had 500 Spaniards with him, it was not an honourable thing to return to the land he had left without

¹ After Cuzco was taken these joined Almagro.

seeing or finding such lands, for what he might have discovered would have been of great profit to his friends and allies.

Again he assured them that the Adelantado was encamped at Urcos and that he did not understand why, being so near, he had not sent some horsemen to tell them of his arrival, knowing as he did (for he would already have heard it) of the great exigency and struggle the Indians had forced on them, and he prayed God that the Adelantado's intentions were honourable and that his return would not give rise to further troubles in the land. He now wished to hear the opinions of those assembled. His own vote was that they should go and see with their own eyes whether what the Indians had reported was true. As soon as Hernando Pizarro had finished what he had to say, those who were present began to give their opinions one to another. Some thought it would be best for fifty mounted men to go to Urcos and ascertain the intentions of Almagro's followers. Others were of opinion that, leaving the necessary garrison in the city, all should set out armed. After some discussion it was decided that Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro and the other captains should go with such a force of Spaniards as seemed desirable, leaving some for the defence of the city. Accordingly Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, and Hernan Ponce with most of the people of the city, set out from Cuzco on the road for Urcos, where the camp of Almagro was said to be established.

After riding for four leagues they came to a place called Mohina¹, which was full of lagoons and morasses. The Indians had made trenches whence they shot darts and stones from slings at the Spaniards. As they approached, Hernando Pizarro, seeing the resistance made by the Indians, went round that place and marched for a league to the south, where the water from those ponds and swamps flows out, and led his party, by a more practicable route, to the trenches. The Indians sent forth great cries, on seeing the Spaniards passing over the trenches in spite of them, killing and wounding all those Indians they could reach with their lances. As the

¹ Or Muyna. There is a lake here, with drainage to the Apurimac.

Indians were very numerous they wounded several Spaniards and some of the horses. The Spaniards heard the Indians loudly shouting out "Take care, Christians of Cuzco, wait a little, Almagro has already come and will kill you all!"

Pressing on half a league Hernando Pizarro and his party came on the hoof-marks of horses and the tracks made by the Adelantado's party on its way to Yucay. When Hernando Pizarro and his followers perceived that Christians had passed that way, and remembered the threats of the Indians, they were very much astonished, saying, "What could it mean, and why was the Adelantado not going to the city with his men, and what was the reason they did not know his intentions?" Hernando Pizarro did not delay in making it plain, that if anyone should attempt anything to his dishonour, he would risk his life in resisting it, being under the impression that the Adelantado would try to lay hold on some part of the territory that Pizarro, his brother, governed, under the decree which he [his brother] had sent to him by Juan de Herrada.

Still they agreed to continue on the road to Urcos, to see the camp that was there.

At this time the Indians, shouting loudly, came to the camp of Juan de Sayavedra, and asked the Spaniards why they did not come out against those Christians of Cuzco, their enemies, for Manco Inca and Almagro are arranging to kill them all. Sayavedra, knowing that the Spaniards of Cuzco had set out and were near his camp, gave orders to his forces to arm themselves and to form in order of battle. He told Don Cristóbal Ponce de Leon to take charge of the infantry while he himself commanded the cavalry, and so all was got ready.

In addition to the fact that the Adelantado wished to get himself received as Governor in Cuzco, the principal persons in his company believing that, should he become Governor through their support, they would receive the best *repartimientos* (the foretime owners being turned out), and looking only to their own interests, did not wish to lead matters to an agreement, even should the other party desire it.

Although Almagro was absent from Urcos, Sayavedra and the others exclaimed "What do these Pizarros come for? Do they think we are going to be deceived by their words?" He promptly ordered two Spaniards, named Cristóbal de Sosa and Alonzo Arias to approach the men coming from Cuzco and find out their numbers and in what order they were coming, and not to come back until they were certain. They were to bid Hernando Pizarro to do no injury to the Indians, because that land fell within the jurisdiction of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, who was treating for peace with the Inca Manco, and he should tell his followers not to be so furious against the Indians nor delight in killing so many of them, as the Indians, with great lamentation, said they had done in the recent battle.

Hernando Pizarro and the other Spaniards from Cuzco continued to approach Urcos, and the Indians came out, crying, with loud voices, that now was the time come to be avenged on those who had killed so many of their friends and relations, for the Inca was arranging an alliance with Almagro, and to kill all the Spaniards in Cuzco; for the Sun was now content to show favour to his people, while the good fortune which had hitherto attended the Spaniards had come to an end.

When the captains heard the Indians speaking so earnestly and with such assurance and saw them awaiting their approach without fear, they did not know what to say.

Knowing that the Adelantado was a Christian and a servant of the King, they could not believe that he was negotiating with the Inca, who was their enemy. On the other hand it was strange that, being so near the city, he should have sent no message to announce his approach and his intentions. This made them suspect that he intended to try something that was not for their benefit.

Finally, marching towards Urcos with these reflections they arrived at a place near to where the men from Chile had pitched their camp. Here they observed a great crowd of Indians and among them two Spaniards on horseback, who were those sent by Juan de Sayavedra. When the Indians saw them so

near at hand they threatened them and shot many stones from their slings. Hernando Pizarro seeing in a moment that the Indians were obstructing his men, and that the two Spaniards were not reprehending them for it, but, on the contrary, were pleased at it, turned to his comrades and said "Let us go at these villains who are harming us so shamelessly." When he said this, grasping their lances, they charged the Indians killing and wounding many and sparing none.

As the fight proceeded Hernando Pizarro noticed that the two Spaniards were stationed where the Indians were strongest, and he was then convinced that Almagro had arranged some treachery.

The two Spaniards watched the skirmish between the Christians and the Indians but dared not approach Hernando Pizarro lest he should take them prisoners.

By this time the men from Cuzco had given such a lesson to the Indians that, leaving many dead and wounded on the field, the rest fled from the fury of the Spaniards and their horses. When clear of the Indians Hernando Pizarro observing the two horsemen standing still, ordered his men to go up to them and find out who they were and what they wanted.

CHAPTER III

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO left the city of the Kings with more than 400 Spaniards marching by the coast road, on his way to the city of Cuzco.

WHEN the news spread throughout this great empire of the Indies of the rising of the Indians against the Spaniards residing in Peru, and that both the city of Cuzco as well as the city of the Kings were besieged by them, succour began to be sent from all parts, and in Spain Peranzures¹ brought the news to the Emperor and the Empress. Among the help which came to this kingdom from all parts were Diego de

¹ Pedro Anzures de Campo Redondo.

Fuenmayor and the captain Pedro de Vergara, with more than 250 Spaniards, from the island of Española where, at that time, Alonzo de Fuenmayor was President for His Majesty. The President and Judges of the court of Española, knowing the great difficulties in which the Governor Francisco Pizarro was placed by the Indian rising, according to what Berrio had informed them, and desiring to serve His Majesty and to succour his subjects the Christians in Peru, raised this force and supplied it with necessaries, naming Diego de Fuenmayor, the President's brother, as captain, and writing through him to the Governor Francisco Pizarro. They departed from Santo Domingo and arrived at the city of the Kings, where they raised the siege and were welcomed by the Governor. Pizarro finding himself with such a great force of Spaniards, resolved to march by the coast road, and to pacify the Indians of the mountainous regions, and bring them all under subjection to the Spaniards. There accompanied the Governor Diego de Fuenmayor, Don Pedro de Portugal, Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Diego de Rojas, Don Martin de Guzman, Diego de Urbina and other persons of distinction. The men he took from the city of the Kings numbered more than 400 Spaniards, horse and foot. So they set out; and marched over deserts and fruitful valleys after having chosen captains and officers for the war whom I will name later on.

CHAPTER IV

How the two Spaniards sent by JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA accompanied by the two who had been sent to fetch them came to where HERNANDO was standing, and about what the Indians returned to tell JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA.

WHEN the two Spaniards sent by Sayavedra to ascertain the intentions of Hernando Pizarro saw those of Cuzco approaching them, as they were very suspicious of one another, they turned to flee, fearing that Hernando Pizarro might capture

them. When the captains Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, and Hernando Ponce saw this, they said to the Spaniards, "Has ever such a sight been seen as that our Christian friends, so long and well known, should thus run away from us? Let it be as it may," said Hernando Pizarro, "we must find out this secret before we return to the city."

(As from this time forward the negotiations were between the parties of the two governors Pizarro and Almagro, though Spaniards all, without any other nation intervening, we will call those on Almagro's side Chilenos, and those on the side of Pizarro Pachacamos, because they used those appellations among themselves.)

As the two Chilenos were at some distance from the Spaniards of Cuzco, they went up a hill so as to see what was going on. Hernando Pizarro, observing this, ordered two of his mounted companions to approach them, and find out if they would wait for them. Francisco Solar and Alonzo de Toro volunteered to go. Hernando Pizarro ordered them to tell the two horsemen to come to him without feeling any mistrust, for he gave his word that they could come and go as they pleased. On this the two volunteers set out. The two Chilenos, seeing that only two horsemen were coming, and that the rest of Hernando Pizarro's party had halted, resolved to await their approach and find out what they wanted. When there was a stone's throw between them they spoke and recognised each other, and had some conversation, which being finished, they came near and embraced. Solar and his companion urged the Chilenos to go and see Hernando Pizarro, as he would be very glad to meet them. Their importunities prevailed and all four horsemen rode back to where the captains waited, and embraced them, and told them all that had happened in Chile, and of the goodwill of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, and that he maintained that the city of Cuzco was within the limits of his jurisdiction. When the Indians saw that the two parties were talking together, and the pleasure they showed in meeting each other, they went to the camp at Urcos, and said to Juan de Sayavedra, "What is this that you are doing, captain? why do you not go forth

with your people and kill those Christians our enemies who came from Cuzco? We see clearly that you are playing false, for while we believed you were bringing us help, on this very day those from Cuzco have done us great injury." On hearing what the Indians said, Sayavedra was much annoyed that Hernando Pizarro should have set out from Cuzco at the time when they were trying with craftiness to bring the Indians to peace. In order that if he attempted anything he should find them prepared, he ordered all his Spaniards to arm and mount their horses and to leave the camp and see what was Hernando Pizarro's intention. This was promptly done and Sayavedra's force marched out to a ridge beyond a barricade, well in sight of the men from Cuzco. As the Adelantado had ordered that the force was to wait at Urcos, Sayavedra decided not to advance further but to send a notary and an alguacil from his camp to notify Hernando Pizarro and those in his company that the Indian blood they had already shed must suffice, and that they must restrain their fury somewhat and put an end to the fighting, as the Adelantado was treating for peace with Manco, and, as he was distressed at seeing so many men killed he would use his utmost endeavour to ensure it before leaving Yucay. In the meantime they should beg Pizarro in the name of God and the King not to persist in a war against Indians who were within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro.

The envoys set out promptly in compliance with Captain Juan de Sayavedra's orders and arrived where the captains and men of Cuzco were stationed and after they had spoken to one another the notary and alguacil put before Hernando Pizarro what Juan de Sayavedra had ordered them. When these demands were heard by the men of Cuzco they began to laugh and to grumble and replied that as the Chilenos said that these Indians were under their protection they should stop them from making war, which was much to be desired, for it seemed to them that if they were to lay down their arms the Indians should be ordered to do the same, otherwise they were determined not to comply with their demands. On the other hand they were astounded at the outrageous assertion

that Almagro should be Governor of Cuzco, which city Hernando Pizarro declared was in his keeping, saying that he acknowledged no other authority than the King and the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, his brother.

The Chilenos replied that the Indians were obliged to defend their persons and property from anyone who wished to seize it and kill them; with this they turned away, Hernando Pizarro saying to them that they should tell Juan de Sayavedra from him that they had better meet together and converse in sight of their people. When Sayavedra heard this he agreed, and leaving his people he halted at a short distance from them. Hernando Pizarro did the same and the two captains conversed.

Hernando Pizarro strove by great promises to induce Sayavedra to deliver up his forces, but Sayavedra was firm in his fidelity to Almagro and would consent to nothing that Hernando Pizarro proposed; and after waiting a short time each one returned to his own people. Hernando Pizarro told his followers how little good will there was on the part of the Chilenos and that he found that they had no wish to come to an arrangement. As soon as Hernando Pizarro said this they began to talk to one another without coming to any conclusion as to what should be done. It seemed to some of them that as the Chilenos had so clearly shown themselves to be enemies that it would be the right thing, as they were separated, to attack Juan de Sayavedra and disarm those with him, for as matters must come to a rupture it would be advantageous to defeat these and then they would contrive to do the same with the others who were with Almagro at Yucay. Alonzo de Toro and Villacastin were of this opinion. Hernando Pizarro replied that they were young and did not understand the King's service. Although the enmity and hatred that Hernando Pizarro bore towards Almagro were well known, as he was sagacious and had heard from the Chilenos that Almagro claimed the Government of Cuzco, and as Almagro had not cared to inform him of his approach although they were so near to one another, he felt sure that Almagro wished to defeat him and force him to abandon the city. In order to

act correctly in what concerned his brother's government, he did not see fit to attack Juan de Sayavedra's company but to wait until Almagro should sever the bond of friendship which existed between him and his brother the Governor, and should be the first to break the solemn and binding oath which they had sworn in Cuzco. Taking the Licentiate Prado and Don Alonzo Enriquez aside they conversed for a time about what should be done, and finally they decided to return to the city, and although night was coming on this was done and they arrived there next day at dawn.

Juan de Sayavedra returned with his followers to their camp, and although there was talk among them of attacking the Cuzco party, he, acting prudently, would not depart a point from the Adelantado's orders; on the contrary, after posting a strong guard, he sent messengers to inform the Adelantado of all that had happened.

CHAPTER V

How the Inca Manco having RUI DIAZ in his power would not let him go, but ill-treated him; and about the letters the Inca sent to the Adelantado and what else happened.

I HAVE already written in the earlier books about the departure of Rui Diaz for the place where the Inca was stationed and how the Inca detained him and would not allow him to return to the Christians, on the contrary he ordered guards to be placed over him, who were to take every precaution to see that he did not escape. The Inca constantly sent messengers and letters in which he told the Adelantado that if he would kill the Christians who were in Cuzco he might feel certain that he would look upon him as his father, and would obey him like an obedient son; otherwise, the Adelantado should not imagine that he was foolish enough to place himself in his hands until he had seen with his own eyes that no treachery

was intended, and that he would do what he had sent to tell him, and that he was setting out at once for Yucay where all might be settled.

The Adelantado was so anxious to see the country at peace and the Indians appeased that in order to see his wishes fulfilled he gave them to understand that nothing would please him better than the destruction of the Christians who were in Cuzco, and he replied to this effect in letters he wrote to the Inca.

At this time the high-priest Huillac Umu in company with the other ministers of the devil were engaged in offering sacrifices to the Sun and the other deities, praying with fervour for help in their defence against the Christians; and a rumour spread among them all that a fierce battle would be fought at Las Salinas between the Christians themselves, at which they were delighted.

Captain Rui Diaz who was in their power was treated by them very cruelly, as a prisoner in the power of barbarians. Stripped naked they anointed him with their mixtures, and were amused to see his contorted features, and they made him drink a great quantity of their wine or *Chicha* which they drink themselves, and having tied him to a post they shot at him from slings with a fruit which we call goayabas, distressing him greatly. In addition to this they made him shave off his beard and cut his hair, so that from a Spaniard and good captain such as he was they wished to change him into an Indian with bare limbs. Rui Diaz led this ignominious life for some days until Rodrigo Orgoñez freed him from it, as I shall relate further on.

When the Adelantado reached the Valley of Yucay, ambassadors passed between him and the Inca who had already come to that valley with a great force, and as Almagro observed that he did not come to the place where he was encamped, it at once occurred to him that treachery was intended.

Almagro greatly regretted having sent Rui Diaz into the power of the enemy, and he ordered his General Rodrigo Orgoñez to take every precaution in camp and to post sen-

tries in the direction of the Indians as well as on the road to Cuzco, for it was already known that Hernando Pizarro had left Cuzco and had arrived near Urcos, and what had occurred between him and Juan de Sayavedra, and he [Almagro] declared that he must be received in the city as Governor, according to His Majesty's royal decree.

When Hernando Pizarro with his captains and neighbours returned to Cuzco they were much distressed at noting the long absence of the Captain Alvarado in Jauja, for it was more than four months since he had entered that province.

The following day Pizarro ordered six horsemen to scour the country towards Yucay and be careful to find out what the Adelantado was doing, and these promptly set out for Yucay.

Almagro, having been warned by his sentries of the approach of these scouts, ordered Captain Francisco de Chaves to form an ambush and endeavour to capture them, so that he might learn what was happening in Cuzco.

Francisco de Chaves did so and took up such a position that when those of Pachacama came along, not suspecting any such step, four of them were captured, namely, Hernando de Aldana, Juan and Julio Villegas and Quintero. The two others escaped, being well mounted. When the four Spaniards were brought before the Adelantado he embraced them, and received them in a most friendly manner, asking them what happened at Cuzco after his departure for Chile, how the Governor Pizarro fared, and what news had been received from Spain.

At the time when this interview took place the ambassadors from the Inca were present. When they saw the honour with which the men from Cuzco had been received, and the pleasure shown by both sides at meeting, they asked the Adelantado to give them leave to return to the Inca their lord, and if he wished to maintain his friendship and to kill all the Spaniards in Cuzco, to give up to them those Spaniards who had just been captured. Almagro answered evasively, that the Inca should come and see to it with him, and that he would then give them up, and they would all go together against the rest

who were in Cuzco. The ambassadors of the Inca then departed, and went to give an account of their mission to their lord, saying to him:

The Sun wished to protect you, O Inca, in not permitting you to go and deliver yourself into the cruel hands of your enemies, for certainly they intend to take your life. Listen to what happened in our presence. Four Christians came from Cuzco, and [the Chilenos] after making a show that they wanted to kill them, captured them and as soon as they were brought before Almagro, he received them with as much joy as if they had been his own brothers and companions.

Manco Inca, the Huillac Umu and the other principal chiefs then consulted together and decided that it would be best to set out with all the forces possible and ensure the death of Almagro and those who were with him at Yucay.

In the city of Cuzco the minds of all the citizens were not in conformity, for the human mind is not constant; it is always varying, rejoicing to see new things. So it was that there were some who already looked upon the rule of Pizarro as disastrous, and deserted his government, expecting that with the arrival of Almagro their estates would be more secure; for pecuniary interests are those which move the men in this country to take sides with the parties which have been formed in it. Gabriel de Rojas, the Treasurer Alonzo Riquelme, and Don Alonzo Enriquez, with some others were so disposed. But there were not wanting others who were true and ready to risk their lives for Don Francisco Pizarro.

The two scouts who had evaded capture by Almagro's men, rode back to Cuzco with all possible speed. When Hernando Pizarro heard of the imprisonment of the others he was very much annoyed, saying that the Adelantado had not behaved honourably in seizing the men he had sent him, and that it argued evil for the alliance and good understanding between his brother the Governor and Almagro. All thought that what had happened looked bad and they got their arms and horses in readiness.

Manco Inca, believing that he was being treated treacherously by Almagro, sent fifteen thousand Indians against him, who

came with great clamour, shouting bitter words against Almagro and his followers. They took up positions on the terraces or walls¹ and hurled many stones with their slings. When the Adelantado saw this he ordered his men to attack the Indians and kill as many as possible. The ground was so rough that this could not easily be done, on the contrary, the Christians were pressed back and a horse of Rodrigo Orgoñez was killed. With all possible speed a *balsa* was then made to enable them to cross the river, and the Indians, seeing that they wished to cross so as to get at them, did all they could to prevent it. Almagro, observing how badly the Indians were treating them, ordered the Spaniards to take cover, so that the Indians could not see them,—this they did, and as the Indians came down carelessly they killed many of them and the rest thought it prudent to retire, so that all the Spaniards were able to cross the river.

The Indians withdrew and went with the Inca Manco and the Huillac Umu to Tambo² and the great fortress they had there, treating the Captain Ruy Diaz, and the other Spaniards whom they held prisoners, very badly.

CHAPTER VI

How the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, having taken counsel concerning what should be done, sent LORENZO DE ALDANA and VASCO DE GUEVARA as messengers to HERNANDO PIZARRO who, with his followers, had come forth from the city of Cuzco; and what passed between them.

HAVING got across the river, the Adelantado, after consultation, said that he would not enter Cuzco until he was received as Governor. Many letters reached him, sent secretly by adherents in Cuzco. Marching in the direction of the city he came to a plain which is called *la Guacabra*, not much more

¹ Terrace cultivation.

² Ollantay tambo.

than half a league from the city. Here he pitched his camp and took counsel with his captains, as to what it would be best to do. The Adelantado referred to his services and to his constant desire to serve the King; he begged them to note the justice of his claim and in how many ways they (his opponents) had endeavoured to prevent his attaining the title of Governor. The city of Cuzco ought to be the principal jewel of Peru and the finest city, and he did not know whether Hernando Pizarro intended to prevent his entrance into it. In no circumstances did he wish to come to a rupture, on account of his love for the Governor Pizarro, his companion; on the contrary he was determined, if his advisers concurred, to send messengers to Hernando Pizarro to inform him of his arrival and announce his intentions. It seemed good to all that messengers should be sent, and they had no doubt that they would see him Governor of Cuzco, and of the other lands His Majesty had assigned to him.

The Adelantado spoke to Lorenzo de Aldana, having a firm hope that through him the negotiations would not miscarry, and to the Captain Vasco de Guevara.

He ordered them to go to the city of Cuzco and to greet Hernando Pizarro on his behalf and to tell him that he had not found in Chile that importance which the Indians had led him to expect, but that he had sent Captain Gomez de Alvarado to explore the river Maule. Juan de Herrada had then brought him the news that all Peru had revolted, and that the Indians were rebelling against the service of His Majesty.

This news, as well as the arrival of his appointment as Governor of New Toledo, were the reasons for his return, therefore Pizarro need not be disturbed nor should it be the cause of any disorder, for his only thought was to serve God and his King, without causing disquiet in the land; and to punish the rebels, for he had been much distressed at hearing about the great hardships that the Governor and the Spaniards had suffered. Lorenzo de Aldana and Vasco de Guevara at once set out on this embassy accompanied by the four Spaniards who had been captured at Yucay.

Hernando Pizarro having received tidings of the approach of Almagro from Yucay certainly believed that he intended to enter the city by force of arms, and he told the captains and the other Spaniards that there could no longer be any doubt about it, for since Don Diego came by stealth his intention could not be honourable.

All the Spaniards in Cuzco in great excitement caught up their arms with all speed, mounted their horses and rode out of the town, saying: "Oh ho! Now matters have come to a head, let not Almagro think that he is going to distribute our Caciques among the men who come with him from Chile."

The youthful Captain Gonzalo Pizarro for his part was impatient for the hour when these things would be settled by arms, for the Chilenos were divided and there was no reason to fear them.

So there set out from the west side of the city the Captains Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Gabriel de Rojas, Hernan Ponce and about one hundred and sixty other Spaniards, horse and foot. They had not gone far before they met Lorenzo de Aldana and Vasco de Guevara, and dismounting they embraced. These latter explained their mission and advised Hernando Pizarro to return to the city, for Almagro had no wish to push matters to extremities or by force of arms, but only to obey His Majesty's decrees and see that justice should be done.

After they had been talking together for a short time, Hernando Pizarro took Lorenzo de Aldana apart, and putting his arm round his neck, asked him with affectionate expressions to inform him what he believed Almagro's intentions to be, for he did not doubt the friendship which bound Aldana to tell the truth seeing that their parents were such near neighbours and they were from the same country. Aldana replied that from what he was given to understand he believed the Adelantado had no wish to break the friendship which he had formed with the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, nor that there should arise between them any sedition or scandal. They then turned to join the other captains, Hernando Pizarro saying to Lorenzo de Aldana that as that was Almagro's

intention, he was at his service and would behave to them all according to his wishes.

The Pachacama captains discussed among themselves what answer they should give, and said to Lorenzo de Aldana and Vasco de Guevara that they should return to the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro and tell him that he was welcome, and that as there was such great friendship between the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro and himself, there could be nothing to break or undo it. They, therefore, humbly requested that he would come to the city, where he would be well served by all, and they would withdraw from one half of it.

So the ambassadors returned, and Hernando Pizarro spoke very well of the Adelantado and of his coming: whether this was feigned or not God only knows, who understands the hearts and intentions of men. As soon as Hernando Pizarro returned to Cuzco, he gave leave for provisions and refreshments to be taken to the camp of Almagro for himself and those who were with him. Indians were sent laden with much bread, meat, and other things, and some wrote to Almagro offering their persons and estates for his service—some, moved by the thought that should the government of the city be his they would gain favour, others because they disliked Hernando Pizarro and wanted Almagro to take possession. The camp of Almagro being so near the city, his troopers were freely provisioned by the townsfolk. When the messengers returned to the Adelantado's camp, they told him and his captains what had taken place. Almagro, not trusting to what Hernando Pizarro had said, ordered Cristóbal de Sotelo to go with twenty Spaniards to where the captain Juan de Sayavedra was posted and caution him to keep a careful watch in his camp, for he knew Hernando Pizarro to be a treacherous man who stopped at nothing to gain his ends.

It is said that it was known in the city that Sotelo was to go to where Juan de Sayavedra and the men of Chile were stationed and that orders were given to post men so as to capture him and those with him as they went along off their guard.

Just when Sotelo was about to start, Diego Méndez, a

citizen of Cuzco, who had left the city secretly, arrived at (Almagro's) camp. He was a brother of the General Rodrigo Orgoñez, and he gave warning about this and related what was happening.

Vasco de Guevara, one of Almagro's captains, told me in the city of Lima, that on this same day, while Don Diego Almagro was saying that he was thinking of giving Hernando Pizarro forty or fifty thousand pesos for having arranged about his government, they told him that Hernando Pizarro had stated in Cuzco that he (Almagro) was a circumcised Moor. He was very angry at this and answered "He lies in saying so, but I deserve it for picking the lice off of him and his brothers."

To make sure whether Hernando Pizarro said this I asked Pedro de Hinojosa, and he told me that he had not heard it; but it is true.

Others say that Hernando Pizarro said it many times both in Spain and the Indies, so he may easily have said it in Cuzco, seeing how embittered matters were becoming.

CHAPTER VII

Of other things that happened among the Spaniards, both Chilenos and Pachacamos, and of what orders the Adelantado sent to JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA.

THE Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro was enraged on finding that Hernando Pizarro, in his absence, had treated him so badly, saying that if God should give him life he would be avenged. All his captains were also furious against Hernando Pizarro. Rodrigo Orgoñez, Gomez de Alvarado, and Diego de Alvarado urged the Adelantado to send and require the Municipality of Cuzco to receive him as Governor in accordance with his Majesty's royal decrees, saying it would be the proper thing to order Juan de Sayavedra to come to where they could all be united. The Adelantado received this as good counsel. Sotelo was not sent, but a letter was despatched

to Juan de Sayavedra to march to Las Salinas, where the Adelantado's force would join him. He was to keep a good look out, for Hernando Pizarro was not to be trusted and would not hesitate to attempt to defeat him. As soon as the letter arrived at Urcos, Juan de Sayavedra began his march to Las Salinas, warning his followers to carry their arms and keep a very good look out, so that should the men of Cuzco attack them they would not find them unprepared. Those of Cuzco, when the messengers arrived, felt secure to some extent, waiting to see what would be done, and believing that those of Chile would come to the city. Hernando Pizarro did not fail to say constantly that he held that city in the name of the Governor and as his Lieutenant, and that he would not give up the command of it without an express command to do so from his brother the Governor, or from his Majesty; though in doing so he should lose his life.

After the Adelantado had sent to order Juan de Sayavedra to march to Las Salinas, he determined to go there to join forces with him, after sending the messengers to the Municipality of Cuzco to demand that they should receive him as Governor. Early next morning, he ordered his captains to march towards Las Salinas with colours flying, leaving Cuzco on their right hand. Almagro received many letters from captains and others in Cuzco, giving him great hopes that they would receive him. When those of Pachacama saw the Chilenos surrounding the city they went up to where the fortress is situated, in warlike array with banners flying displaying great resentment, Hernando Pizarro saying that a mistake was made in not having attacked Sayavedra when he was in Urcos, for now the whole force would be united without entering the city although passing close to it, which was mere deception. He added that the mission of Lorenzo de Aldana and Vasco de Guevara had been a trick to prevent him from attacking them, and he regretted having been taken in by them. Now there was no knowing what they intended to do, and an advance would be fruitless.

The Adelantado marched to Las Salinas with all possible speed, and found Juan de Sayavedra already there. He rejoiced that all his forces were united, and resolved to march

at once towards the city of Cuzco. When he was no more than a cross-bow shot distant from it he ordered his camp to be formed. When all the captains and principal gentlemen of his force were assembled they considered what should next be done, and agreed that the royal decrees should be sent to the Municipality, so that by virtue of them Almagro should be received as Governor; and that he should await the answer where he was, all being armed and prepared for war.

The news of these things came to [Ollantay] Tambo, where were the Inca and the Huillac Umu, and when they heard that the Christians were quarrelling with one another without hope of agreement they were much pleased, and made great sacrifices to their devils, holding it for certain that soon there would be a battle between them at Las Salinas. They treated Ruy Diaz and their other Spanish prisoners very cruelly.

Hernando Pizarro, seeing the Adelantado so near the city, believed that he intended to occupy it with his forces. He spoke to the Spaniards who were with him, striving to confirm them in their friendship, imploring their aid, reminding them that the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro looked upon them as his sons, and that from his hands they had received all that they possessed. He implored them to continue loyal to him, and assured them that his Majesty, by the decrees held by Almagro, did not take the government of Cuzco from the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. He asked them what they could expect to receive from Almagro if he seized the government of the city?—except that he would take away their Indians and property to give to his own followers. With these and other reasons he exhorted and animated them. They all replied that they would do no other thing than that which his Majesty ordered by his royal decrees, that they held Don Francisco Pizarro to be Governor, and that they would acknowledge no other whatever, without special orders from his Majesty. Then they all armed and awaited the approach of Almagro. Presently they saw two Spaniards coming towards them. One was Hernando de Sosa, Secretary to the Adelantado, the other the licentiate Guerrero, who came, by order of Almagro, to show the royal decrees to the Municipality, with power to require them to receive Almagro as Governor.

When they arrived in the city, they expressed their pleasure to the Municipality and then asked them to assemble and examine the decrees which they brought from the Adelantado, and in compliance with them to receive him as Governor, as his Majesty ordered. Some were not sorry that the Adelantado should assume the government of the city, others with more mature judgment considered that no good would come of it, but on the contrary many evils and seditions would arise; for those of Chile would wish to prevail over them, and have more authority, and even oppress them until they had divided the provinces among themselves. The Municipality met in council and when the royal decrees had been read, some were for receiving Almagro at once, others against his reception. Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro with all their party endeavoured to resist his reception, expressing many reasons why the Municipality were well able to reject it. There also came, by order of Almagro, the accountant Juan de Guzman, and the licentiate Prado. Guzman presented a letter of recommendation to Hernando Pizarro, who gave no other answer than that the Municipality would see what should be done.

CHAPTER VIII

How the Municipality of Cuzco examined the Decrees which were shown them on behalf of DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, and how they replied to those who came with them, and of the truce arranged between them.

THE members of the Municipality were not all in agreement about the reception of the Adelantado, nor had they any other motive than to serve his Majesty as loyal subjects and not go contrary to his orders. What they understood was that his Majesty had appointed Don Diego Almagro Governor of New Toledo, which province commenced where the government of Don Francisco Pizarro ended.

This was what the decrees first laid down; and another seventy leagues north to south on the meridian, according to what the decrees further stated. (I intend to recite the decrees in this work when we arrive at the appointment of the judge who was chosen as arbiter between the Governors.)

The Municipality seeing that his Majesty clearly did not order them to receive Almagro, and that they were not sufficiently learned or acquainted with the art of navigation to know the degrees nor to determine the latitude, although there were some votes in favour of his reception, resolved to send an evasive reply by the messengers, saying that it was late and they could not come to a decision, but that God willing, they would answer the Adelantado next day, for a matter of such importance could not be lightly settled or without mature deliberation.

The licentiate Prado had examined the decrees so as to explain them; but after what had been said the Adelantado's secretary and Guerrero were satisfied and they returned to camp after telling the chief men in Cuzco, and the members of the Municipality, that in order to prevent any disturbance or scandal a truce should be established between them until the matter was settled.

Hernando Pizarro and the members of the Municipality nominated Gabriel de Rojas and the licentiate Prado to make an agreement on their behalf; and all met together in the camp of the Adelantado, who received the envoys very well.

As there had been very heavy rains there was great discomfort in the place where the camp had been pitched, and so much mud that the horses could hardly move; so Hernando Pizarro sent to the Adelantado to propose that he should come to the city, and he (Pizarro) and his party would withdraw from one half of it so that the Adelantado and his followers could stay there until it was decided whether he was to govern the city or not¹.

¹ It is surprising that the real point was not insisted upon. It was that the parties themselves had no right whatever to settle where the boundary was—that was left to the arbitrator. Almagro had no right to seize Cuzco because he thought it was within his boundary. The line was to be settled by a Royal Umpire.

When the Adelantado knew what had passed in Cuzco, he would agree to none of it, and would not consent to the truce. Seeing that he had the superior force he was determined to enter the city and be received as Governor. Gabriel de Rojas and the licentiate Prado proved themselves to be true friends; they gave the Adelantado to understand that the principal persons in the city desired his reception there, believing that his Majesty would be served by his being Governor, and urged him to believe they would be entirely in his favour. The Adelantado told them to return to the city and tell the members of the Municipality that they must receive him at once, without entering into any long discussions; also to tell Hernando Pizarro that he was very well in his camp where it was. If they would obey him he would come and lodge in the city, otherwise he would not.

That night a careful look-out was kept in Cuzco as they thought that Almagro hoped to catch them off their guard.

When Hernando Pizarro saw that the Adelantado did not want to come to terms, he exclaimed, "Almagro thinks to gain honour through me; may the devil take my soul if he gain any."

Being aware that the minds of the majority of those in the city were agitated and unsettled, he told them that they should not be in a hurry to show themselves on Almagro's side, for they had Don Francisco Pizarro as Governor in his Majesty's name. In order to justify his cause in their opinion he told them that he would rather lose his life than give up the city to the Adelantado before it was decided whether or not it fell within his government. He held a decree in blank, signed by his brother the Governor and countersigned by his secretary Antonio Picado; and that all might see that he wished to act justly, he was willing to appoint Hernan Ponce as his lieutenant, and would insert his name in the decree; and he himself would hand him the staff of office and would go to the city of Los Reyes to consult the Governor, his brother. As Hernan Ponce was a friend of the Adelantado, he would examine the decrees carefully, and if the city fell within the district of the Adelantado's government, he would deliver it over to him.

Diego de Almagro knew what was taking place quite well, and when Gabriel de Rojas and the licentiate Prado came back he assembled his captains and principal followers to consult about what should be done. They were all of opinion that they ought to wait and see whether the Municipality would receive Almagro as Governor, and that if not that they should enter the city by force.

That night Hernando Pizarro ordered guards to be posted on all the bridges over the river which flows through the middle of the city, and ordered the bridge nearest to Don Diego's camp to be broken down.

The next day Gabriel de Rojas and the licentiate Prado returned to the camp of the Chilenos to arrange the truce, telling the Adelantado that he should not refuse his consent, for he would lose nothing by agreeing to it; on the contrary, during such a truce his friends in the city, who were numerous and important, would have an opportunity to bring round the others to their way of thinking, and orders would be given for Hernando Pizarro to give up the wand of office and be deprived of his post of lieutenant. Finally the captains and principal Chilenos agreed that the truce should be accepted, and it was settled in this way: Almagro was to stay in the camp where he was and not to enter the city until it was decided whether he should be received as Governor, and Hernando Pizarro should be bound to remain in the city, but must not fortify any part of it. In this way the truce was completed on the pledged word of all of them, and some signatures and oaths added. Gabriel de Rojas returned to the city and reported what had been arranged with the Chilenos. Hernando Pizarro was to some extent re-assured, thinking that the truce would not be broken by the Adelantado until it was decided whether Cuzco lay within his jurisdiction.

CHAPTER IX

How some citizens of Cuzco went over to the camp of ALMAGRO, and about their entry into it; and how the Captains HERNANDO PIZARRO and GONZALO PIZARRO and others were made prisoners and of the great danger in which they found themselves, and how the Adelantado was received as Governor.

THE great sins of the men who lived in Peru were the reasons why our Lord God punished them and they had to endure such great misfortunes and misery, for the conscience of all of them was weakened and they cared for nothing but amassing great wealth which the soldiers would spend as they liked, forgetting their wives, children and brothers, many of whom were dying of hunger in Spain, and with only the mere pittance they sent them out of their great surplus would have to suffer want.

Instead of promoting peace, which kindles no cruel fires, the people of the city went about in groups gossiping about the anger and rancour they felt against Hernando Pizarro for his attitude regarding the reception of the Adelantado, who was clement, bountiful and humane towards all, and if he came as Governor would grant them great favours.

The Chilenos were impatient to be in Cuzco so as to draw profit from the provinces, thinking that Almagro had authority to distribute them.

The truce being now arranged, through the accountant Juan de Guzman and the captain Gabriel de Rojas and the licentiate Prado, some of the Spaniards went to their houses.

Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro and about twenty Spaniards remained in Hernando's house with some small pieces of artillery at the entrance. As the licentiate Prado had intervened for the truce, he declared that they might all sleep that night in safety. They were all worn out by long watches and always slept armed, but that night they undressed. There was

a fall of snow and the cold was severe. While those in the city passed the night in this way there was great noise in Almagro's camp, the soldiers declaring that they were being deceived by long deliberations, so that there might be time to summon the captain Alvarado who, according to what the Indians reported, had reached the bridge of Abancay. It was said that two Spaniards who had been in Cuzco, named Diego Mendez and Almagro, went to the Adelantado and reported that Hernando Pizarro had broken down all the bridges to prevent the city being entered. Those who were in the city deny this. Some writers have written of these events without taking pains, or from the reports of men more prejudiced than truthful. If their statements do not agree with my books, let there be no complaint against me because I differ from those who are unacquainted with these provinces, and could not obtain correct information. For I have travelled over all this country, and have been in the city of Cuzco, where I could resolve these doubts by the use of my own eyes. So, putting aside these various opinions, the truth is that Hernando Pizarro had not sufficient force to resist the power of Almagro, who had 450 Spaniards, horse and foot; while Pizarro had only 200 in the city, and half of those were in favour of Almagro. Not having the assistance of the Captain Alvarado, who was still at Jauja, Pizarro wished for any honourable arrangement so that he need not fear what Almagro might do, coming as he did with such a great force. Across the river which flows through the town there are several bridges. Pizarro ordered the one nearest to the camp of Almagro to be broken down, but not the others.

As those who were with Almagro desired to enter the city, and believed the statement of the two envoys that the bridges had been broken down so as to fortify the city (or because these two, wishing the same thing, made the false statement as an excuse), the General Rodrigo de Orgoñez ordered the whole force to arm secretly and march to the city.

Thus the Adelantado, without further notice, was induced to go against the people of Cuzco, saying that the magistrates were oppressed by Hernando Pizarro and were not free agents,

that all should go with good intentions without committing any robbery or killing anyone, for he wished to do no disservice to his Majesty nor make any claim but to be received as Governor, as the royal decree commanded. So that this might be accomplished and in order to avoid any injury that might result, it was necessary that Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro should be taken prisoners, for, on these two being removed from their midst, the city would be able to carry out with freedom what was stated in the decrees.

Some within the city were well aware of the Adelantado's decision, but as they wished to see him come, they gave no warning to Hernando Pizarro, and as the night was very dark, those who would have warned him, observed nothing. They arrived at two in the morning when it was raining very heavily, and the Adelantado and some of the principal men from the camp went to the church; the Captain Rodrigo Orgoñez went straight to the houses where Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro were, with about twenty Spaniards who were their friends.

The Captain Juan de Sayavedra and a company guarded the principal street of the city that opens on the church, so that if any went to join Hernando Pizarro they might be stopped and prevented from going there. Captain Vasco de Guevara guarded another street which leads to the Temple of the Sun, and the number of Almagro's men being now 280 horse and foot, they occupied all the streets of Cuzco.

As Hernando Pizarro believed that the truce would be observed, he was in bed. His enemies surrounded the buildings constructed with very solid walls of dressed stone¹. The neighbours, who heard a noise, came out to see what was the matter, and others, who knew, pretended not to notice it and remained in their beds until it was all over. The Adelantado had gone at once to the church with the Captains Gomez and Diego de Alvarado, Alonzo de Montemayor, the accountant Juan de Guzman, Lorenzo de Aldana, and many others.

When Rodrigo Orgoñez had surrounded the house of Hernando Pizarro he promptly seized the small pieces of artillery placed at the entrance. The noise awoke Hernando.

¹ Vivas piedras.

Certainly it is very true that he showed himself a gallant knight on that occasion. Freeing his eyes from the veil of sleep, he was quickly dressed and armed. Taking a sword and dagger he went to one of the doors of the house, and told his brother Gonzalo Pizarro and the Spaniards who were with him, to go to the other, for Almagro had broken his word of honour and the truce, and that he would rather die than fall into his power alive, for one could never trust the word of a faithless man, and at last Almagro had shown himself what he really was.

The Spaniards who were present wishing to follow their captain's example also armed themselves.

Rodrigo Orgoñez, having surrounded the house, shouted to Hernando Pizarro to surrender himself as a prisoner to the Adelantado, declaring that his person would be respected and he would be well treated.

The night was very dark and it was still three hours before daybreak.

Hernando heard Orgoñez's words, and it is said that he replied, "I will not surrender to a soldier such as you are." Orgoñez answered that he was Captain-General of the Government of New Toledo, and Pizarro only a Lieutenant of Cuzco; besides that he, Orgoñez, was a brave man and Pizarro need not scorn to surrender to him. Moreover, he was to do as he was told.

Hernando Pizarro, bitterly resenting the affront offered him in the attempt to seize him naked in his bed, with the help of his friends, defended the two doors against all the force of their enemies with lances, swords, daggers and crossbows. They fought so furiously that one of the men of Chile was killed.

Orgoñez, when he found that he could not make an entry by the doors, determined to try the walls, and see whether by climbing them they could come down and capture the inmates. Hernando Pizarro, as a man who was now careless of his life, went from one part to another, saying that they might enter and that before he died he would show them that their false treachery would not triumph.

The Adelantado was in the church, and some of the captains and citizens of the city had already approached and spoken

to him the words of fickle men. It would have been better for them to be helping their captain than to submit to those who wanted to occupy the city by violence. Though Almagro ordered that there were to be no insults or robberies, it was not obeyed, and some soldiers took what they could. The Captains Vasco de Guevara and Juan de Sayavedra were guarding the city as Orgoñez had ordered, and also admonished the soldiers not to rob or do any damage. The Adelantado, when he found that Hernando Pizarro had not ordered the bridges to be broken down, regretted, to some extent, having entered the city by force.

Orgoñez and Sotelo hurried forward the capture of Hernando Pizarro, and those who were shut up with him; but they could not enter either by the doors or over the walls, for the defence was very gallantly maintained. Orgoñez when he found he could neither kill nor take them, nor induce them to surrender, ordered fire to be brought, and according to all accounts it was the Captain Vasco de Guevara who brought it. It was promptly placed so that the house should catch fire, for the roof was of straw, and overwhelming those beneath would kill them all. The Spaniards who were inside, when they saw the flames, thought they would be burnt, and were much distressed. The resolute spirit of Hernando Pizarro never once faltered, and he preferred to perish in the flames, rather than by the hands of his enemies. The Chilenos who were outside advised them to surrender themselves, for the souls of those who die voluntarily are damned. Hernando Pizarro was in great distress at his difficult position and the grip they held him in. The flames began to spread with great fury, and though many who were in the city observed it they did not dare to come to their rescue, believing that if they did so, they would be killed. Those who were with Pizarro asked him to let them surrender, for it was not a deed of valour to die through foolhardiness but rather to preserve their lives, and later on to be avenged on their enemies. Hernando Pizarro was determined not to give himself up to the Chilenos and he told those who were with him that he preferred being burnt to doing what they proposed, and he

placed himself in the doorway and defended it in such a way that no one could enter. There was so much smoke that the night was made darker by it. Orgoñez and Sotelo had no wish to save the lives of the brave men they were besieging unless they, forced by necessity, laid down their arms and came out to give themselves up.

At this time the beams which supported the roof began to fall, the flames having destroyed the thatch. The Spaniards who were inside, seeing that from the low trick played on them they would lose their lives, urgently entreated Hernando Pizarro to come out of such extreme danger and surrender to the men of Chile, for after all they were Christians. At this time the whole house fell in with a crash and the inmates, most of them scorched and half suffocated by the smoke, armed with their shields and daggers, rushed out upon the weapons of their enemies. All the beams and the ancient posts supporting them fell to the ground, and if they had delayed for the time to say a *credo*, all would have been killed. As the captains mixed with their enemies, they were seized, and even ill-treated, both they and those with them, with buffets and other outrages; which was not just, as they were men of rank, and brothers of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro.

CHAPTER X

How HERNANDO PIZARRO, Lieutenant for the Governor, the Captain GONZALO PIZARRO and the others under arrest, were taken to ALMAGRO, who would not see them, and ordered them to be taken as prisoners to the house of DIEGO NUÑEZ DE MERCADO; and how ALMAGRO was received in the city of Cuzco as governor.

ABOUT the break of day the Captains Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro and the other Spaniards who had been besieged with them were made prisoners, and were taken towards the church where Almagro had established himself, who already knew what had taken place and that they were captured. He ordered

that they should not be brought into his presence, because he did not wish to see a man so bad that he had caused a rupture in the ancient friendship between the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro and himself. So they took the prisoners to the house of Diego de Mercado who had made great offers of service to the Adelantado. They were imprisoned one day only in that house, and then they were taken to the Temple of the Sun, where they were confined for many days in charge of the Captain Francisco de Chaves.

After this had happened the Adelantado ordered the Alcaldes and magistrates to assemble in order to examine the decrees and receive him as Governor.

Although some desired to do so, others looked upon it as a violent measure which would be of no service whatever to his Majesty. However, seeing the men of Chile so powerful and in possession of the city, they feared that to do otherwise than what they wished would afford the Chilenos an excuse for putting them all to death, so submitting to necessity they received Almagro as Captain-General and Governor. When he had been received he voluntarily raised great hopes by saying that he would show favour to all, by confirming them in the *repartimientos* they held without the slightest interference, and that they would not be treated by him as they had been by Hernando Pizarro.

These and many similar promises Almagro made to the people of Cuzco to give them confidence in his friendship.

He told Gabriel de Rojas to take the rod of office as Lieutenant and Chief Justice of the city. Now Gabriel Rojas was a friend of Almagro, but he also felt sorry for the inhabitants of the city; however, seeing that with this office he might be useful, or because he was one who liked to be on the winning side, he accepted the appointment and was promptly installed and acknowledged as such by the citizens.

The decrees of the Adelantado and his reception as Governor were announced by public proclamation.

Almagro ordered Rodrigo Orgoñez to take great care that the Captain Alonzo de Alvarado did not receive tidings of what had taken place, for the Indians reported that he was

already very near the bridge of Abancay or of Apurimac with a great force of Spaniards.

Of the natives I have no more to say now than that they rejoiced greatly at what was passing among the Spaniards, and the disorders they perceived among them, saying that they trusted in the Sun that He would permit such wars among the Spaniards that at last they would all kill each other, and that they, the natives, would then recover their dominion which had been taken from them with so little justice. They made great sacrifices to their demons, praying for aid, so that, when the Christians were inflamed by their mad and furious dissensions, they might be able to triumph over those that remained. They continued to treat the Spaniards they held as prisoners with great cruelty, inflicting great sufferings on their bodies. Although many Indians had gone to their homes in various parts, there were still a great number at [Ollantay] Tambo with the Inca, and these determined to wait and see what happened among the Spaniards.

CHAPTER XI

How the captain ALONZO DE ALVARADO crossed the river of Parcos, and how he arrived at the bridge of Abancay and of what else happened in the city of Cuzco.

THE reader will remember how it was related in the previous book, that the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega was sent by order of Alonzo de Alvarado to see if the Parcos was free of Indians so that it might be crossed without molestation. He returned reporting that all was clear, which gave Alvarado great satisfaction. He ordered the captains to march with their companies, saying that they would soon be in the city of Cuzco. So they crossed the river and went on until they arrived in the province of Guamanga, where he was warned that there was a garrison very near, under an Indian captain. Alvarado had strict orders from the Governor to watch the movements

of rebellious Indians, and if when offered peace they did not accept it, to make war on them and leave them so severely punished, and the country so open, that the messengers despatched could pass without any hindrance. As Alvarado knew that there were warlike Indians here, so as to leave all safe, he ordered Pero Alvarez Holguin to march with the necessary number of horse and foot and endeavour to defeat them, and capture as many of them as possible. Pero Alvarez was very anxious to encounter the garrison that was said to be near, but he could find no one nor any sign that any one had been there, so he returned to where Alvarado had encamped. When that captain heard that no warlike native had been met with, he knew that the captive Indian captain he had with him had invented the news out of treachery, and thus enraged against him, he ordered him to be burnt.

Leaving this place Alvarado marched to Andahuaylas where he halted for some days to collect supplies necessary for continuing the march. Here he heard from the Indians that the Adelantado, Don Diego Almagro, had returned from the provinces of Chile, and had entered the city of Cuzco, taking Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro prisoners. But he did not believe it; on the contrary, he said that the Indians were not speaking the truth, but told this story which was clearly false, in order to make him go back or advance more slowly, for Almagro left Cuzco with such a fine army and was going to such rich and prosperous provinces, that it was not credible he would return with all his people without having formed any settlement.

So Alvarado and his troops set out and marched until they reached Cochacaxa which is one day's journey before reaching Curamba¹.

Some days after Hernando Pizarro had been made prisoner, when the approach of Alonzo de Alvarado with a number of Spaniards was reported, the Adelantado, wanting to make certain of it, summoned the accountant Juan de Guzman and the factor Mercado and ordered them to set out from the city with twenty-three Spaniards and go as far as the bridge

¹ An Inca fortress, still standing between Andahuaylas and Abancay.

over the Apurimac, and learn from the Indians of that district the truth of the matter, and who the people were who were coming from Lima. They were not to be careless, nor fail to advance very watchfully, lest the Indians should attack them, for they were not friendly. Juan de Guzman said that he would go, and do what he was ordered. He set out from Cuzco and came to the bridge of the Apurimac, where Juan de Guzman and the factor Mercado told their men to catch some Indians, that they might obtain news. They captured four or five, and learnt that the Spaniards from Lima were now very near, that there were four captains, the chief one being named Alvarado. When Juan de Guzman knew from the Indians how near they were, he promptly sent two of the Indians, with some horsemen, to the city. As soon as they arrived the Adelantado at once sent for Diego de Alvarado in whom he had great confidence (insomuch that there was no one among the men of Chile in whom he trusted so much: but this friend never wanted to have any command, though had he wished it he might have been General) and asked him what he thought of the news, and what should be done respecting the force coming from Lima. Diego de Alvarado replied that Almagro should get exact information as to the names of the captains and the numbers of the Spaniards who were coming. The Adelantado did so, by further questioning the Indians. They told him that the captains were Alvarado and Lerma, and three others, and that there were more than five hundred Christians. When this was known consultations were held and they decided to write to Pedro de Lerma to get him on their side, and to induce him to get others in their camp to be friendly. Rodrigo Orgoñez wrote to Pedro de Lerma and sent the letter by some Indians with orders to go to where the Christians coming from Lima were encamped, and deliver the letter to Pedro de Lerma. The Indians started at once, and went so fast that in a day and a night they reached Alvarado's camp, which was at Cochacaxa. The captain Pedro de Lerma received the letter and was much pleased to hear what had happened in Cuzco, for he was on bad terms with the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. Some also say that

he told the news to Alvarado, which is true. That night he told Captain Diego Gutierrez de los Rios and other chief officers in the camp what had happened, saying that Almagro was Governor and had been so received in Cuzco, and that it would be prudent to gain his favour. These things, made known by Lerma, were listened to by all; and many of those who were with Alonzo de Alvarado rejoiced to hear them, and that night great meetings were held among them.

In the city of Cuzco they considered what should be done, and it was determined to hold a council consisting of

The Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO

DIEGO DE ALVARADO ¹	VASCO DE GUEVARA ³
RODRIGO ORGOÑEZ (<i>Genl</i>) ²	GABRIEL DE ROJAS
GOMEZ DE ALVARADO ³	CRISTÓBAL DE SOTELO ⁴
JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA ³	LORENZO DE ALDANA ³
ALONZO DE MONTEMAYOR ³	The Chaplain and some others.

When they were assembled Almagro said they already knew well that his regard for all of them was so great that it could not be more sincere if he had been their own father, and that on this account he desired that matters should be settled, and that there should be no more disturbances, and that he would be able to govern the province freely, since it was assigned to him by his Majesty, without any gainsaying; that now they knew from the report of the Indians that four captains were coming from Lima with many Spaniards, the chief among them being Alonzo de Alvarado [the discoverer] of Chachapoyas, they must consider what course they should adopt, so that if these people came nearer to Cuzco there should be no disturbance in the city from which danger might arise, and to guard against this it would be well to provide beforehand.

The captains and gentlemen at the meeting, when they had listened to the Adelantado, took counsel together as to what had best be done. It seemed to most of them that the Adelantado should send the decrees by trustworthy persons to

¹ Returned to Spain after the death of Almagro.

² Killed at battle of Las Salinas.

³ Left the Almagro party owing to the murder of Pizarro.

⁴ Murdered at Cuzco by Garcia de Alvarado.

Alonzo de Alvarado, and persuade him to obey them and accept him as Governor, as the provinces where they were fell within his jurisdiction. If he would not do this he must, on pain of heavy penalties, at once retire from these provinces into the government of Don Francisco Pizarro.

Hernando Pizarro, who was a prisoner in the Temple of the Sun, was able to gain the information that the men of Chile were sending to request Alonzo de Alvarado to come to Cuzco and were trying to get him on their side, and fearing that Alvarado, deceived by the hidden malice of the men of Chile, should fail to do his duty to him as Lieutenant, he was very anxious to inform him of what had happened regarding his imprisonment, and the wrong that had been done by the entry into the city during a truce. So Hernando Pizarro succeeded in writing a letter to Alvarado without its being known to those who guarded him. In this letter he let Alvarado know all that had happened, and urged him to remain faithful to the Pizarros, and not to disregard his fate as long as he was held prisoner, and if he should return to the City of the Kings to tell everything to the Governor, that he might know the terrible affront that had been offered him, and how cruelly his brothers had been treated, having been arrested as though they had been highwaymen, and robbed of all their property. Moreover, if any persons of distinction were sent as envoys, that he should detain them as hostages for his life.

Having written this letter, Hernando Pizarro managed to get speech with a Spaniard named Pero Gallego, a man who was a very swift walker and who knew the country well, having traversed all the paths in it.

CHAPTER XII

How HERNANDO PIZARRO sent a letter by PERO GALLEGO to the Captain ALONZO DE ALVARADO, and how PEDRO DE LERMA sent letters by PALOMINO to the city of Cuzco, and how the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO sent DIEGO DE ALVARADO and GOMEZ DE ALVARADO and others to the bridge of Abancay to notify the Captain ALVARADO, who had already arrived there; and what else happened.

PERO GALLEGO came to Hernando Pizarro without being seen by the guards, and Pizarro made him great promises and begged him to go to Alonzo de Alvarado and deliver the letter to him, and tell him all that had happened at Cuzco. Pero Gallego answered that he would go wherever he sent him, and would use every endeavour to accomplish the journey. So he set out, dressed like an Indian, putting aside his Spanish clothes, shaving off his beard with a razor, and instead of a sword taking a sling wound round his body, and concealing the letter in one of the hollow canes, which the Indians carry, containing certain powders¹, which I have written about in the book treating of the customs of the Indians. Thus equipped he left the city of Cuzco. He was very swift and had the strongest desire to warn Alvarado as Pizarro had ordered him.

I will leave Pero Gallego travelling and turn to the affairs of Alonzo de Alvarado who had reached Cochacaxa.

It is said that Pedro de Lerma, who received letters from Cuzco, wanted to send replies to Orgoñez and the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, and spoke to a Spaniard named Melchor Palomino, who also was very speedy, and gave him letters with orders to deliver them to those to whom they were addressed in Cuzco. Palomino expressed his readiness and received into his charge the letters that Lerma gave him,

¹ Lime to use with coca?

written by Lerma himself and from many others in the camp, freely offering their services, and telling the Adelantado that they rejoiced at his having been received as Governor, as his Majesty had so ordered it by his royal decrees, and other things.

Next morning, as they were about to strike camp, it was found that Palomino was missing, for as soon as Pedro de Lerma and some others had given him the letters, he left the camp as secretly as possible, and hastened on his way.

When Alonzo de Alvarado heard of his flight, he was much annoyed, believing that he had been sent by one of his captains. Search was made but Palomino could not be found.

As they were crossing the mountains to descend to the river Pero Gallego arrived with the news sent by Hernando Pizarro, and he took out the letter and gave it to Alonzo de Alvarado.

When Alvarado had read it, he was distressed that Almagro should have wished to include Cuzco in his jurisdiction, and in truth he (Alvarado) would not have encountered this distress had he reached Cuzco before Almagro. The fault was not his, however, but the Governor's, who had ordered him to winter at Jauja, and wherever he might be to reduce all the Indians from war to peace. Alvarado promptly ordered a meeting to be held of all the captains and principal persons in the camp, and the letter from Hernando Pizarro was publicly read, that they might all know the state of affairs at Cuzco. When the letter had been read, Alvarado said that they must consider what ought to be done. For himself he deplored the entry of the Adelantado into Cuzco in such a way; and he asked them to give their opinion, always keeping before their eyes, the service of the King and of the Governor Pizarro. Among all it seemed best to establish the camp there, and to send messengers with the news, and the letter which Pedro Gallego brought from Cuzco to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. If during the time that the messenger was away Diego de Almagro should come against them, they might put him off by notifying him that they were waiting for the orders of their Governor, and that until the messenger returned they

could not enter into any negotiation. If Almagro should intend to make them submit by force of arms, time would show them what it would be best to do, and meanwhile they might receive instructions from the Governor. Alvarado now well knew that the peace would be broken, and that the ancient friendship between Pizarro and Almagro must come to an end. He felt that the state of things was so delicate that, unless God, of his infinite mercy, intervened in some way, great wrongs and much bloodshed would recur. He was placed in a great difficulty, for the minds of those with him were not all in agreement, nor did they all wish for a settlement; on the contrary, many of them had rejoiced at the reception of Almagro, thinking that in the discord those who were poor might become rich; so they had begun to detest tranquil peace and to assume a hasty passion, ready to embark on any mischief which would avert tranquillity.

From that time began the period when confidence and faith were overthrown and men looked upon cruel civil war as a profitable occupation.

Those who were already of this opinion wanted to see the banners of the men of Chile advancing so as to join them, declaring, in order to give some justification to their desire to leave, that they had no doubt that Almagro, the Adelantado, was justly received as Governor in the city of Cuzco, and that he was so influential a gentleman that he would make them all rich and powerful, thus enabling them to return to Spain and enjoy their native country.

Alvarado ordered the camp to be established on the heights of Cochacaxa, which overlooks the river of Abancay, and he determined to keep guard on the bridge so that the men of Chile should not take him by surprise. He then took counsel with Gomez de Tordoya, Garcilasso de la Vega, Pero Alvarez Holguin, and other captains, as to who should be sent as messengers. They decided that a dozen horsemen should go, men who could be trusted not to do otherwise than obey their instructions, and they named Gomez de Leon as leader, to whom was entrusted the entire conduct of the embassy. With him went Alberto de Orduña, Gonzalo Hernandez de Heredia, Juan Alejandro, Origuela, Losa, Juan Porcel and

others, up to the number I have stated. Alonzo de Alvarado wrote to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro that he had quieted the Indian provinces on his march, making the Indians give up their arms so that his Majesty might have dominion over them, and that he had arrived near the bridge of Abancay, with the determination to cross the river and enter the city of Cuzco. There a letter reached him from his brother Hernando Pizarro, brought by a Spaniard named Pero Gallego, and he will see what was said in it and for this reason he was sending it to him. Learning that the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro was in the city of Cuzco, holding it, he (Alvarado) had not thought it well to advance further without receiving orders from him (the Governor) as to what he should do, and this was also the advice of the captains and gentlemen who were with him. As soon as he had written this letter he sent off Gomez de Leon and his companions with it, with orders to make all despatch to reach the place where they would find the Governor, who, according to reports of the Indians, was coming along the plains. They answered that they would carry out his orders with all the speed possible. Then they set out, with many other letters for the Governor.

In Cuzco, as we related in previous chapters, the Adelantado and his principal advisers, had agreed what they would do, in the matter of the presence of Alonzo de Alvarado at Abancay. It was decided by them to demand that he should give obedience to the Governor and Captain-General who in those provinces held that office from his Majesty, and if he declined to do so, he must not remain there, but depart. Looking round to see to whom it would be best to confide this negotiation, it seemed to the Adelantado that, as Gomez de Alvarado and Diego de Alvarado wished to go, no one could be found better suited, both from their personality, and from their having come together from Guatemala with the Adelantado Don Pedro. Don Alonzo was on friendly terms with them, and would believe what they said on his [Almagro's] behalf. So he [Almagro] sent for them and told them what he wished, saying that if they would go to Abancay, they would do him a great favour. These gentlemen were very

desirous for the honour of the Adelantado, and that he should be the only Governor of all these provinces, and they joyfully replied that there was nothing the Adelantado could ask that they would not undertake, so long as it was for the service of God and his Majesty. The Adelantado greatly rejoiced that they were so ready to serve him; he threw his arms round them and declared that he trusted in God our Lord that the time would soon come when he could repay all that he owed them. So they went forth from that interview determined to carry out their mission. The accountant, Juan de Guzman, Don Alonzo Enriquez (a man of great cleverness), the licentiate Prado, the factor Mercado, and a notary and an alguazil went with them.

A letter was written to Alonzo de Alvarado, very civilly worded so as to lead him to come round to his [the Adelantado's] opinion, making him great promises and offering to provide him with much money, with which he would be able, if he wished, to return to Spain.

In this way the messengers set out for Abancay where Alonzo de Alvarado was camped. The Adelantado wrote to Juan de Guzman to join them, and to some men who were there, to go as a rearguard, because of the Indians.

I will now leave Diego de Alvarado and those who went with him, to speak of the Governor, Don Francisco Pizarro.

CHAPTER XIII

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO arrived at the fortress of Huarco, where he received news of the entry of DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO into the city of Cuzco, and of his brothers having been made prisoners, and of his feelings on receiving the news.

WE have already related how the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro set out from the City of the Kings with 400 Spaniards, horse and foot, taking as his captains Felipe Gutierrez and Diego de Urbina, with the object and intention of bringing

help to the city of Cuzco, whence he had not received any news for many days. He was consequently very anxious, feeling deeply the troubles his brothers must have passed through during such a long siege, and he had some fear that they might have all been killed. He ordered that long marches should be made, first by the way of the plains.

The natives of the fruitful valleys, seeing the powerful force led by the Governor, came out to serve him and to provide supplies. But although the Governor had excellent intentions respecting the pacification and settlement of these provinces, I cannot omit saying that the Indians suffered great wrongs and hardships from the Spaniards during this march. They seized their women and their property, and, what is most pitiable, in forcing the men to carry loads (which was excusable) they chained them together; and in marching across the deserts, with a broiling sun and heavy burdens, without trees to give shade or streams to furnish water, when the poor Indians were tired out, instead of letting them rest, they beat them with sticks, saying that they were shamming. They treated them so cruelly that many fell to the ground, and when they fell, so as to avoid halting to clear them from the chain that held them, with little fear of God they cut off their heads. In this way many Indians were killed. Formerly those valleys were thickly peopled, but by reason of the cruel treatment they received from former governors and captains, the diminution was caused which is now seen. Indeed many of those valleys were denuded of inhabitants, and so abandoned that nothing is to be seen but ruined buildings and the tombs of the dead, with the rivers which flow through the valleys.

Marching with all possible speed, Pizarro arrived at Huarco; a valley where there is a fortress which was very famous in former times¹. As I have already related Alvarado, from the bridge of Abancay, had despatched Gomez de Leon with the other messengers, who travelled as rapidly as possible, and reached this valley of Huarco where the Governor was encamped with all the Spaniards who came with him. When

¹ Near the mouth of the River Cañate. The ruins are very perfect, now called Hervay.

they came before the Governor and he had learnt the news they brought, great was the perturbation with which he received it, so great indeed that it was apparent in his countenance. His grief was so intense that for a short time he was confused, thinking of the very close accord there had been between Almagro and himself, of the many years they had maintained an intimate friendship like brothers, of the excessive hardships they had gone through together in discovering these provinces, and of the solemn and binding oath they had both taken together in Cuzco. All these were strong reasons for not breaking the peace, yet without thought of the great evils that must accompany a civil war, Almagro had forcibly entered the city of Cuzco, seized his brothers, placing them in such peril that they barely escaped being burnt in the fire. Looking up to heaven Pizarro said that he greatly rejoiced that Almagro had been the one to break the peace and go against his oath. Now that the fates decreed that he and Almagro in their old age should contend in a civil war, as they would be held to be the authors and principal movers in it, he called God to witness that he did not rejoice at it nor did he wish to go on with it, for it would be much against the service of his Majesty. Feeling that he ought to show a bold spirit to his people, lest they should look for trouble, this he did, by saying that they need not be alarmed at the news from Cuzco, for, although his brothers were now prisoners, yet Alonzo de Alvarado was at the bridge of Abancay with such a force that if Almagro did not repent of what he had done, and return to his friendship, their united strength was sufficient to oblige him to do so. All the Spaniards who were with the Governor, considered that Almagro had behaved badly in entering the city by force of arms, and imprisoning Hernando Pizarro who was there as lieutenant and chief justice. They held that his conduct would bring great evils on the country. The Governor paid great honour to the messengers who had come from his captain Alvarado, giving them jewels and horses, and he sent them back with as many others to where Alvarado was encamped to tell him that he rejoiced to know that he and all his force were well, for now

that Almagro had imprisoned his brothers and seized the city of Cuzco, God our Lord would be pleased if peace could be made between them. He, the Governor, would strive to secure this with all his might, and Alvarado was to be very careful until the Governor arrived, not to affront Almagro, nor to come to any rupture with him. The Governor also wrote to the principal captains who were with Alvarado.

Having despatched these messengers, the Governor was very careful about what he should do, looking upon this seizure of the city of Cuzco as an act of great disrespect to his Majesty, and being impressed with the importance of preserving peace and concord, which are benefits which surpass all other good things.

Wishing affairs to proceed smoothly, although, so far as his [former] partner was concerned, they were going on the wrong road, he took counsel with

The bachelor GARCIA DIEZ
DIEGO FUENMAYOR,
DIEGO DE URBINA

FELIPE GUTIERREZ
ANTONIO PICADO, *his Secretary*
PEDRO PUERTOCARRERO

and some other persons.

Discoursing with them about the news from Cuzco, he told them that Almagro, on his own authority, had entered the city of Cuzco, deposing the justices he [Pizarro] had placed there in the name of his Majesty, arresting the principal men, forcing the Administration to receive him as Governor, although, even believing himself to be such, he had no right to do so. All agreed that it was a very grave offence, and as his Majesty was too far away to punish it, it fell to him, the Governor, to chastise those who deserved it, for disturbing peaceful lands and cities. He then begged them all to be good friends and comrades, promising to honour them as much as possible, and notwithstanding that he had already expressed his views he asked them to give him their opinion of the state of affairs, as the matter was so important, and he would receive it as coming from gentlemen and servants of his Majesty. After hearing what the Governor had said, all were of opinion that messengers should be sent to the Adelantado that negotiations might proceed amicably, and that the letters should be written

with bland and gentle words, because that would greatly help towards an understanding. Besides that, letters should be sent to the principal people who were with Almagro. Letters should also be sent to the City of the Kings so that, if the negotiation did not turn out well, there should be a call for men, and preparations for arming them.

CHAPTER XIV

How DIEGO DE ALVARADO and the others who set out for the camp of ALONZO DE ALVARADO reached the bridge of Abancay; what happened then, and how they were made prisoners by ALONZO DE ALVARADO.

DIEGO DE ALVARADO left Cuzco, with the others who were ordered by Almagro to make the demand on Alonzo de Alvarado at the bridge of Abancay, and rode until they arrived at the Apurimac where they found the accountant Juan de Guzman and the factor Mercado, and after giving them the letters from the Adelantado, went on with them according to orders. Some of the mounted men who were on guard at the Apurimac bridge did the same, for being few in number, they feared that if the Indians attacked them they would be overcome and killed. So they all arrived at a height overlooking the bridge of Abancay. The guard then returned, and the others went down to the river. A guard was stationed at the bridge by order of Alonzo de Alvarado, who himself, with the rest of the captains and Spaniards, remained in their camp on the height of Cochacaxa, which was a very strong position. Diego Alvarado, Don Alonzo Enriquez, the accountant Juan de Guzman and the others who were with them, told the men guarding the bridge what they had come for and that they wanted to go up to the camp, to see the captain Alonzo de Alvarado. The guards replied that they could not pass until orders had been received as to what was to be done. Two men

at once went to the camp and reported the arrival of the ambassadors, asking whether they were to be allowed to pass. Alonzo de Alvarado told the men to return to the bridge, for he himself would go down and see them and find out why they came. Summoning the Captains Garcilasso de la Vega, Pero Alvarez Holguin, Diego Gutierrez de los Rios, Gomez de Tordoya, Pedro de Lerma, and some others, he told them that he intended to go down to the river and receive those gentlemen, for they were of such quality that they must be well received, Don Alonzo Enriquez being one of them. He then went down to the river, accompanied by the above captains, ordering that the ambassadors should be allowed to cross the river. When they met they embraced, and many courteous words passed between them. Alonzo de Alvarado invited them to come up to the camp with him, where it would be more convenient to receive their communication. They replied that they would do as he proposed, and they went up hand in hand. Don Alonzo Enriquez enquired whether they had brought many barrels of preserves. A gentleman named Beltran del Salto replied "Yes, Sir! And we bring very good barrels full of fine powder and round balls, if you should have a fancy for them." Don Alonzo Enriquez answered, that he was quite as ready for one as the other. Soon afterwards they all reached the camp.

Diego de Alvarado, having given to the Captain Alonzo de Alvarado, the letters which he brought from the Adelantado, tried very hard to win him over to the opinion of the men of Chile and it looked as if he almost succeeded, and Gomez de Alvarado did the same.

But Alonzo de Alvarado had no such thought. He replied that he held the Adelantado to be such a gentleman that, should he do so, he would certainly grant him any favours. But he was Captain-General of the Governor Don Francisco de Pizarro, and it would not please God that he, through covetousness or any reason, should be false to the faith the Governor placed in him.

While thus conversing, the tables were set out and they all ate quite amicably, though the hearts of many, and their

intentions, were not in accord ; on the contrary, [some] already wished to enter the service of the Adelantado.

During these negotiations Alonzo de Alvarado was determined not to give Diego de Alvarado an opportunity of announcing the Decrees he brought with him, of which he had been informed. Diego de Alvarado on his part, knowing that Alonzo de Alvarado did not wish to do anything in favour of Almagro, desired to announce them.

As soon as dinner was over Diego de Alvarado ordered the notary to announce to the General Alonzo de Alvarado, and to the other captains who were with him, that they must obey and comply with the Decrees of his Majesty, and place themselves under the orders of the Adelantado, because they were within the limits and jurisdiction of his Government; if they refused, they must depart outside those limits and leave them free.

Then when the notary was about to read the Decrees, Alonzo de Alvarado said that he came only to subdue the provinces and to bring them under the dominion of his Majesty, by order of Don Francisco Pizarro, whom he acknowledged as Governor and Captain-General. That having heard of the proceedings at Cuzco, so as to do no disservice to the King he had determined to remain where he was and await such further orders as his General was sending; for he had already sent messengers to apprise him of what had taken place. As for himself he did not know the limits of Almagro's government, nor where that of his Governor Pizarro ended¹. Diego de Alvarado, judging from what Alonzo de Alvarado had said, saw that he had no mind to see the Decrees, so he turned to him and said that he had brought the Decrees there, and that these laid down Almagro's boundaries and he should examine and obey them. All this time the captains and principal persons in the camp were standing round. Alonzo de Alvarado, turning to ask some of them what had better be

¹ Here the real point is missed again. Neither Pizarro nor Almagro had any right to decide the boundary. The order was that it was to be decided by an arbitrator appointed by the King. Don Alonzo Enriquez, in his autobiography, admits that Alonzo de Alvarado did refer to the fact that the boundary was to be settled by an umpire.

done with Diego de Alvarado and those who had come with him, was advised that, as they had had the audacity to come to the camp, they should be arrested, seeing that they had imprisoned Hernando Pizarro who was in danger of his life. For his security, and as hostages, these messengers ought to be arrested or sent to the Governor. Alonzo de Alvarado held this to be good advice, so he ordered the messengers to be arrested and disarmed, and to be put in chains. Diego and Gomez de Alvarado showed much resentment, saying that this was not a thing that could be done by men of honour. While their arms were being taken, Diego de Alvarado turned his head and gave his sword to a negro whom he saw among the Spaniards; saying to the captain, "By my life, if I am able, you shall not take it from me another time." Alonzo de Alvarado answered, "Be now a prisoner and give your sword to whom you like, afterwards it will be as God pleases."

The messengers who came from Almagro, being made prisoners in the way I have described, were placed in a house with a guard over them¹. At this point it would be well if the reader will give a little attention in considering what war may do. For it draws into its meshes the wise, the humble, and the men of peace, indeed all classes of men have to do what it orders. When once the banners are displayed and the drums beaten, there is not a thing in the world that those who engage in it will stop at. This may be clearly seen by the example of these captains. Being all such friends when they came from Guatemala with the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, they now displayed the enmity which has been seen.

¹ Don Alonzo Enriquez says that a stone prison was specially built for the hostages.

CHAPTER XV

How, when DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO was aware of the delay in the return of the messengers he had sent to ALONZO DE ALVARADO, he believed that they had been taken prisoners, and how he set out from Cuzco; and what else happened.

As eight days had passed since Diego de Alvarado, and those with him, had left the city of Cuzco to go to Abancay, and no news had been received of them, it seemed to the Adelantado a bad sign, and he feared that they might have been killed by the Indians or made prisoners by Alonzo de Alvarado. So he sent an order to the Spaniards who were guarding the bridge over the Apurimac, to keep a good look out themselves, lest any disaster should overtake them, and to capture some Indians so as to find out from them what had happened to Diego and Gomez de Alvarado and those who were with them.

From two Indians who were captured they learnt that the ambassadors had reached the river of Abancay, and were now with the other Christians who had been there for a long time and had formed a camp. These Indians were sent to Cuzco, so that Almagro, learning from them what had happened, might decide what was to be done. When they came before him he asked them what they knew about the Spaniards who went to Abancay. They said that they were sure those Spaniards arrived at the bridge of Abancay without anything having happened. When Almagro heard this from the Indians he at once felt sure that his emissaries had been made prisoners and was much grieved at having sent them, and he called a meeting consisting of General Rodrigo Orgoñez, captains Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves, Salcedo, Vasco de Guevara, the quartermaster Rodrigo Nuñez, Lorenzo de Aldana, Alonzo de Montemayor, Gabriel de Rojas and some others. He said to them:

You all know that by your advice I sent Diego de Alvarado and the others to the bridge of Abancay, to require the captains

who are there to comply with the royal Decrees, and to receive me as Governor, as they were within the limits of this city; and, as I perceive, they have been made prisoners, and are thus prevented from completing the negotiation. I therefore wish to hear your opinions as to what ought now to be done.

Rodrigo Orgoñez said:

The only inference is that they have been made prisoners, and that as the war has been begun, Hernando Pizarro should be killed, and we should all march to liberate the prisoners. For we know what a number of friends we have there, who when they see our banners will come over to our side.

The view taken by Orgoñez seemed good to most of the captains. But the Adelantado was solely desirous of securing the government, which he believed to belong to him, without much damage being done, and as civil war had not then become so inveterate, nor the indifference to human life so great as it became afterwards, although he might wish ill to Hernando Pizarro, he feared the anger of the King, who might punish him, and he had some feeling of reluctance to give Governor Don Francisco Pizarro so great a sorrow. For these reasons he said that he did not wish the death of Hernando Pizarro to be discussed. Orgoñez replied that Almagro showed himself to be very merciful, but that such a man as Hernando Pizarro, if he was allowed to live, would surely wait for revenge. The Adelantado answered that he did not wish to be considered cruel or bloodthirsty. He ordered the drums to be sounded, and the whole force to prepare to start the next day. Orgoñez said that he would obey orders, and all got ready and set out from the city, leaving Gabriel de Rojas as lieutenant with a force sufficient to keep a good guard over Hernando Pizarro and his brother Gonzalo. The Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro having set out from the city of Cuzco with his captains and troops, reached the bridge of Apurimac in three days, where he ordered twenty horsemen to remain as a guard over it. Going on from there he did another day's march, and as a sudden and unexpected rumour arose in the camp, he stopped to hear what it was, and was told that it was said that Alonzo de Alvarado had crossed the Apurimac at a place higher up, and was marching on Cuzco

to liberate Hernando Pizarro and restore him to the office he had held. The rumour was unsupported by a letter or by any witness. The truth was merely that Alonzo de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin had gone to examine a pass some three leagues from their camp and the Indians, who saw them go, spread this rumour.

The Adelantado and his companions believing that Alonzo de Alvarado was on his way to Cuzco, and that Hernando Pizarro was already released, and in possession of the city, were in a state of consternation.

As soon as the excitement caused by such news had subsided, the Adelantado resolved to return to the city. So they returned, not in such good order as when they started.

Rodrigo Orgoñez told the Adelantado that as he had not taken his advice to do what he recommended and so strongly urged, if serious disaster fell upon him he had only himself to blame. The Adelantado replied that if Alonzo de Alvarado was really going to enter Cuzco, he would order Hernando Pizarro to be beheaded. He added that he would march in the rear, with every Spaniard before him, and would follow them as quickly as possible.

As soon as Almagro had said this to Orgoñez, he set out with all possible speed, and the Spaniards did the same; when they came to the Apurimac bridge, where the guard of twenty horsemen had been left under Cristóbal de Narvaez, he ordered them to follow him and return with their horses to Cuzco, as it was reported that Alonzo de Alvarado was making forced marches to reach the city. There were twelve leagues between the bridge and Cuzco, and Almagro arrived there at sunset, with some others who had good horses. Certainly the Adelantado was on one of the swiftest and sturdiest that ever was seen. He and those with him dismounted, rejoiced to find that the news was untrue. Those on foot also made forced marches, and arrived that night with their pikes and crossbows, accompanied by the mounted esquires. Very few were so slow as to arrive next day.

Sentries and guards were posted and the watch towers were so placed that if anything happened, or anyone should approach

warning would be given. Eight days later, when the horses were rested, they resolved to return to the bridge of Abancay, to liberate Diego de Alvarado and those who went with him. Almagro gave orders for great care to be taken in guarding Hernando Pizarro that he might not escape, and again confiding the care of the city to Gabriel de Rojas, Almagro once more set out with Rodrigo Orgoñez, Juan de Sayavedra, the quartermaster Rodrigo Nuñez, the captain Vasco de Guevara, Francisco de Chaves, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Saucedo, Hernan Ponce de Leon and other gentlemen, with all the force he had, and marched until he reached the bridge over the Apurimac.

As Alonzo de Alvarado had made prisoners of Diego and Gomez de Alvarado and the others in the way we have related, he ordered that a stronger guard should be placed at the Abancay bridge to prevent a surprise from the men of Chile. He then ordered the captain Pero Alvarez Holguin to take thirty horsemen, cross the river and reconnoitre the country in the direction of Cuzco, to see whether the men of Chile were coming. The soldiers who were to be thus employed were got ready, and among them there were two, one named Francisco Nuñez and the other Lemos, who had had long conversations with those who were in Alvarado's camp. Notwithstanding that Diego de Alvarado and the others were prisoners, they were always talking to their captors and trying to induce some of them to go over to Almagro's side. These two hoped that an advance would be made from Cuzco, so that they could effect that which they now so much desired. It is said that these two whom we have named, with the captain Pedro de Lerma and the others of his opinion, suggested that, using every precaution, they should see whether the Adelantado was leaving Cuzco and coming towards them, and if by chance they should meet his scouts they would speak to them and let them know their intentions; so they set out with this purpose.

Pero Alvarez left the camp and went on until he came in contact with the troops of the Adelantado, for as I have already said they had left Cuzco and marched to the Apurimac

bridge. The Adelantado had given orders to Captain Francisco de Chaves to advance with all speed at the head of sixty horsemen and some infantry, for news had been received that the forces of Alonzo de Alvarado were advancing to reconnoitre. They knew this from those two who had been sent on ahead and the Indians in their employment. Francisco de Chaves advanced until he knew that Pero Alvarez was approaching and then concealed his men behind a low hill, ready with their arms and horses, telling them so to manage as to capture Pero Alvarez without any Spanish blood being shed. By the same (two) who were coming with Pero Alvarez they were warned how many were approaching and how best to capture them, and Pero Alvarez and his followers, quite ignorant of the proximity of the men of Chile, came right on them, and when he attempted to defend himself and face his enemies found himself completely surrounded. Recognising that he could do no good, he checked the combat and held his hand, not as a coward but as a valiant Spaniard born in the heart of Estremadura. Francisco de Chaves came to him with friendly greetings, saying, "Surrender yourself a prisoner, Pero Alvarez, for no other course is open to you, and you will not be received as conquered and a prisoner, on the contrary you will be so treated by the Adelantado, that learning the justice of his cause, you will be content to serve and follow him." Pero Alvarez answered him: "When men cannot carry out their intentions it is useless to waste time in words. It is for God to decide who shall have the advantage with swords and lances."

As those who were with Pero Alvarez were so few, they were easily surrounded and made prisoners, only three escaping by the speed of their horses, these returned to camp and gave the news to Alonzo de Alvarado that Pero Alvarez had been taken prisoner and all the others who were with him. They could not tell who could have given the enemy notice of their approach, but as the men of Chile were waiting for them at the other side of a low hill, concealed in such a way that, as they were marching without suspicion of such an ambush, they were taken prisoners.

Alonzo de Alvarado heard this with much dismay, but he kept up a resolute spirit, and seeing that it was no time to

think of anything but preparation and readiness, and as the Adelantado was already marching against him, and the guarding of the bridge was so important, he ordered the Captains Gomez de Tordoya and Villalba to hold that position and to strengthen it in such a manner that the enemy, if they should attack, would not be able to capture it. He then addressed those who remained in the camp, saying that if he thought Almagro had justice in what he was seeking for, and that his Majesty had ordered him to give over the city of Cuzco, he would have already delivered up the banners to the Adelantado and placed himself under his standard; but they knew and acknowledged Pizarro as Governor, and it would not be just to discard the true and accept this promoter of wars.

He then proceeded to say,

And since the Adelantado D. Diego de Almagro has seen fit to set at nought the friendship and alliance that subsisted between him and the Governor, let him declare his intentions, for he has proved himself the author of the war; and I pledge my word that neither his promises nor his exhortations shall move me to abandon the service of the Emperor, or to fail in obedience to the commands of my Governor, who is stationed in this country as his [Majesty's] lieutenant.

The captains and soldiers replied that what he said was right and that they would serve him; but they did not speak the truth, for the intention of many was to follow the fortune of war.

Oh! Spaniards of Peru! How much grace and favour must God give to Viceroy, Governors and Captains that they may live without the necessity of trusting to your fickle persons, for seldom are you faithful and loyal for any length of time. Those that I tell about, on the one hand assure their leader that they will serve him loyally, and on the other, send offers of service to his adversary.

Gomez de Tordoya promptly went down to the river to guard the bridge, as he was ordered.

The Captain Garcilasso de la Vega was deeply grieved at the capture of Pero Alvarez Holguin, but others were glad and had the cunning to convey to Diego de Alvarado the news of what had happened.

CHAPTER XVI

Of other measures that were taken by ALONZO DE ALVARADO, how the Adelantado received the news of the capture of PERO ALVAREZ HOLGUIN with much joy, and how ALONZO DE ALVARADO was attacked, defeated, and made prisoner.

As soon as Gomez de Tordoya had gone down to the bridge with the detachment under his orders Alonzo de Alvarado did the same with all the rest of his force except a guard over the prisoners, giving orders that they should be treated well. Having arrived at the river he ordered Juan Perez de Guevara, captain of infantry, to station himself a little below the bridge with the men on foot, with their arms in readiness, so as to defend the passage of the river when the enemy should come. Juan de Rojas, with the cross-bow men, was placed at a ford near the bridge. Luis Valera was to see that all the soldiers were in their places. As soon as Diego and Gomez de Alvarado and the others knew that the Captain Alonzo de Alvarado had gone down to defend the passage of the river, they wrote to the Adelantado by a negro belonging to the licentiate Prado, advising him to come with all possible speed, and telling him that in the camp of Alonzo de Alvarado he had many friends. It is said that Pedro de Lerma and the Captain Diego Gutierrez de los Rios, and others who were left in charge of the prisoners and the camp on the heights of Cochacaxa, had conversations with the prisoners, and were false to Alonzo de Alvarado, and about other things respecting which I shall be silent.

Alonzo de Alvarado was informed of this and, wishing to punish the originators of this treachery, he left a strong guard at the river and went up to the camp, where he saw that there was a disturbance among the Spaniards. Some were saying "who would fight in a battle with Almagro for love of Pizarro," and other such words. When Alvarado heard this, he determined to arrest Pedro de Lerma, and to do this

he sent down a messenger to the river with orders to Juan Perez de Guzman and Luis Valera to come up with twenty Spaniards from among those who had come with him from Chachapoyas. He spoke to Captain Garcilasso de la Vega about the disorder in the camp, and that there was much disaffection since the capture of Pero Alvarez Holguin. As soon as Juan Perez de Guevara arrived with his men, Pedro de Lerma, conjecturing what was coming, fled from the camp at night. With much difficulty he came to the river and then at the risk of his life went across country to join the Adelantado, and at length succeeded, but after the defeat of Alonzo de Alvarado and not before. When that general failed to find Pedro de Lerma, and learnt that he had fled, he was much annoyed. Strict search was made with no result. Then some of the guards at the river went across and others followed them. As Alonzo de Alvarado could not lay hands on Pedro de Lerma he ordered the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega, with his detachment, to march up the river until he came to a ford, to watch whether the enemy were coming that way, in order to gain the heights. Garcilasso started at once, and Alonzo de Alvarado returned to the river.

Meanwhile the Adelantado marched with his army until he reached the neighbourhood of Abancay, whence he sent fifty horsemen to the bridge to see how it was defended. The Adelantado was now joined by Francisco de Chaves, and rejoiced greatly at hearing of the capture of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and ordered him to be well treated. Diego de Alvarado, noting the delay on the part of the Adelantado, sent him a letter by an Indian in his service, who travelled with great haste until he placed it in the Adelantado's hands. When Almagro received it he ordered his men to get ready and hasten forward, and so arrived at the river.

Alonzo de Alvarado, without being disheartened by the sight of the banners of the men of Chile so near him, encouraged his own troops, declaring the justice of his cause, and insisting that they should show their fidelity in their friendship with him, and that if they did otherwise it would be disgraceful;—but all this was wasting words on the air. He ordered great

care to be taken in placing sentries and look-out men and waited to see what the men of Chile would do.

Rodrigo Orgoñez ordered the Inca Paulo¹ to go to a ford which was near, with his Indians, and throw up strong barricades with deep trenches for protection against the shots of the enemy, and also to make two hundred *balsas* for crossing the river, and this work was at once taken in hand. The Captains Juan de Sayavedra, Vasco de Guevara, Francisco de Chaves, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Hernan Ponce and the others were placed in a carefully planned formation. I have already quoted the number of those with Alvarado. Almagro's force consisted of four hundred and thirty men, horse and foot. The Captain Garcilasso de la Vega was guarding the pass already mentioned. Rodrigo Orgoñez made a feint of crossing the river, telling the Spaniards that this was done to put the enemy off its guard, so that when they seemed least prepared, the attack could be made. He said that it was by clever stratagems that lines were broken and battles won, without serious loss of life.

This was done and the Indians under Paulo began to make a great noise. When Alvarado's men heard it, although the night was very dark they marched in that direction, to defend the pass, thinking that the enemy was crossing. But Rodrigo Orgoñez had no such intention, and both sides kept watch for what would happen next.

Next morning Orgoñez went to the Adelantado with the other captains, and discussed the question of crossing the river. All were anxious that this should be done without fighting or loss of life, for as it was known that more than half Alvarado's men were on their side, they thought that he and Garcilasso de la Vega might easily be captured, and that with the men who would then join them, their army would be sufficiently strengthened to advance, should the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro refuse to evacuate the territory belonging to Almagro.

¹ This was a son of the Inca Hayana Capac and brother of Inca Manco who threw in his lot entirely with the Spaniards, and went with Almagro to Chile.

While this discussion was proceeding, it is said that a Spaniard of the Portuguese nation, named Magallanes, arrived who offered his services, saying that he was sent by Tordoya who was delighted at the news, and that among his people it was said that no doubt messengers would be sent to the Captain Alonzo de Alvarado demanding the release of the prisoners and that he should acknowledge Almagro as General and Governor. (Others say that Tordoya did not send him. My belief is that except Garcilasso and some of the Chachapoyas men, all were in favour of Almagro.) Orgoñez objected to this, saying it meant nothing but delay, and nothing would ever get done, so towards night he again made preparations for crossing the river.

Alvarado kept passing from one part to another encouraging his troops; greatly regretting that the Adelantado should have entered Cuzco without previous communication with the Governor, and have made Hernando Pizarro a prisoner, and moreover, not content with that, should have marched against him to give him battle.

Diego Gutierrez de los Rios, who had remained behind that day in charge of the camp, believing that the Adelantado would defeat Alonzo de Alvarado, ordered the prisoners' irons to be knocked off, and treated them like free men, doing them much honour. All this time Alonzo de Alvarado was watching to see if the enemy would cross the river.

In the second watch of the night Rodrigo Orgoñez ordered the troops to get ready, both horse and foot, telling them that they must be resolute to defeat and conquer, and that war had no call for compassion nor soft hearts. Saying this, he took eighty horsemen, chosen from those who had the swiftest horses, under Cristóval de Sotelo, Vasco de Guevara, and Francisco de Chaves, and rode down to the river.

The Adelantado armed himself, and ordered the ensigns to take the banners in their hands and all the troops to be prepared for what they had got to do. Rodrigo Orgoñez, with the eighty horsemen, crossed the river where Juan Perez de Guevara was stationed. With the Adelantado were sixty horsemen ready to attack the bridge, which was defended on

the other side by Gomez de Tordoya, so soon as they saw that Orgoñez had crossed the river. While crossing, Orgoñez ordered some culverins to be discharged, which they had brought from the city of Cuzco.

On hearing the noise, a Spaniard who was in the detachment of Juan Perez de Guevara, said, "How now? do they think that because it is night they will catch us asleep?" Putting a bolt into his crossbow he shot it towards the part of the river where the water was making most noise, shooting at a venture, and not taking aim, he hit one of the men of Chile and wounded him severely, who when he felt the sudden blow of the bolt, cried aloud, "Think of that! does it not come from those who have promised to join our side?" Rodrigo Orgoñez shouted loudly to his men to plunge their horses in breast high, and get across as quickly as possible. Juan Perez de Guevara began to call out, "Now then, gentlemen! let us unite to resist our enemies."

As the river was so swollen and flowed with such fury, they could not believe that the men of Chile had crossed it, moreover the night was very dark, and there was great confusion among them. However, with much trouble, and no little danger, some of the horsemen had crossed to the other side, and when Juan Perez de Guevara was trying to defend himself, they wounded him in the thigh. There was such a tumult among the Indians and the negros belonging to the Spaniards, that they could not understand each other.

Alonso de Alvarado, knowing from the great noise and turmoil that the enemy must have crossed the river, went towards the bridge, to join Gomez de Tordoya.

As the conflict was so confused, and the men on one side as well as the other were split up into parties, I cannot describe it clearly.

When the Adelantado knew that some of his men had crossed the river, he hastened with his sixty horsemen to attack and seize the bridge. The night was dull and dark but in such times nothing can stop men wreaking their will.

Gomez de Tordoya, hearing the noise at the other end of the bridge, where the Adelantado was, ordered a small bell

to be rung, which he used as a signal for all to collect together. Many of those who were with Luis Valera, and several who were with Juan Perez de Vergara passed over to the men of Chile. One gentleman, named Don Pedro de Luna, trying to defend himself against the men of Chile, was killed, and they say it was from an arquebus shot fired by those in the river. The troops of Alvarado were in a state of panic, and no order could be kept. Of the Adelantado's men some crossed the river by swimming and others on horseback, and one Spaniard was drowned, the river sweeping him away with the current. Alonzo de Alvarado got together a party of men who ranged themselves with their backs against the foundations of the bridge, and in the narrow space they faced the enemy with pikes and crossbows. Orgoñez approached to near where Alvarado and Tordoya stood, calling to them in the name of the King and Almagro. Those with Alvarado shouted, "Long live the King and Pizarro." Rodrigo Orgoñez shouted in a loud voice, "Surrender, Sirs, as prisoners and do not oblige us to dye our spears with your blood." As all this took place in the night they could only be known by their voices. The Chile party attacked with such ardour that many of Alvarado's troops soon yielded. As Orgoñez came up, one of his opponents hurled a stone which gave him a serious wound in the mouth, and Juan Gutierrez Malaver was wounded with a dart. Orgoñez, in spite of his wound, which was bleeding freely, rushed upon his opponents with drawn sword, shouting to them that they must surrender or be killed. Alvarado saw that he was lost, from the small number that gathered round him. Wishing to defend himself, he saw that his own people were mixed with the men of Chile, and that two of his men were killed and several wounded. Orgoñez was saying that they must capture and not kill them, for it was only to free the prisoners and enforce the royal decrees that they came. Presently Gomez de Tordoya was made prisoner. Alonzo de Alvarado, lance in hand, mounted on his horse, went up to the heights, not knowing what to do, intending at one moment to place himself in a strong position, at another, to go back to the river and see whether all his men were defeated and

conquered. Abandoning both these plans, he decided to ascend the heights, collect the men he had there and go to join Garcilasso de la Vega. Rodrigo Orgoñez, who never missed a point when there was work to be done, ordered Alvarado to be followed and captured. Those whose horses were least tired were sent in pursuit.

Although the road was very bad Alvarado was unable to leave it, and could not fail to be tracked and overtaken, by the trail he had left. As those who followed him were many, and he only one, they captured him and took him to the Adelantado.

CHAPTER XVII

Of the things that were done by the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO after ALONZO DE ALVARADO was made a prisoner, of the Advice given him by RODRIGO ORGOÑEZ, and what further took place until the return to the city of Cuzco.

WHEN Alonzo de Alvarado had been taken prisoner, he was brought to the Adelantado. It was now daylight. Rodrigo Orgoñez, who was badly wounded by a stone, crossed by the bridge where the Adelantado was stationed. He had previously ordered Francisco de Chaves to go with one hundred men, mounted and on foot, to Cochacaxa, where Alonzo de Alvarado had his camp, and to collect all the men, and see that no one got away to take the news to Francisco Pizarro, arresting those who would not lay down their arms and become friends.

He ordered Captain Narvaez, with the men he found there, to go to where the Captain Garcilasso de la Vega was stationed. The Captains Vasco de Guevara and Francisco de Chaves went to the camp at Cochacaxa; and a man named Megallanes, of the company of Captain Diego Gutierrez de los Rios, when he saw the defeat and the capture of Alonzo de Alvarado, went up in all haste until he reached the summit of the hill,

and told Diego Gutierrez de los Rios that more than 300 men of Chile were coming against them. Soon afterwards Samaniego and others arrived and said the same. As soon as they heard it, the alarm was given among those who were there, about thirty horsemen, and they came to consult with Diego Gutierrez de los Rios and decide what should be done, and whether they should set out and seek the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. Diego Gutierrez then went to Diego de Alvarado, Gomez de Alvarado, the accountant Juan de Guzman, the factor Mercado, Don Alonzo Enriquez, and Susa, and liberated them, saying to Diego de Alvarado that as His Honour was a gentleman, would he speak to the captains who were coming on the part of the Adelantado and request them to do no injury to them or their property, but that in the contrary event, he and his men would defend themselves and do what the necessity of the moment might require. Diego de Alvarado said that he fully approved of what had been said, and at once went to meet the captains Vasco de Guevara and Francisco de Chaves who were much pleased to see him, and, discussing with them what they came for, the captains replied that if those who were in the camp would abide by the royal Decrees and receive the Adelantado as Governor, they would do what Diego de Alvarado had approved. Those in the camp, not wishing for anything else, promptly consented to the terms, and the Decrees which the Governor Don Diego de Almagro held were read out. All that has now been related, took place on the 12th of July in the year 1537.

Alonzo de Alvarado being a prisoner, Rodrigo Orgoñez looked to the future, and considering that it was not safe, at this time, to have many enemies, as the war had been kindled, and must be carried on forcibly in such a way that the party of Almagro should prevail over the party of Pizarro and boldly turn him out of the government which he wielded oppressively, it would be sound policy to take the life of Alonzo de Alvarado. He therefore ordered that, without delay, his head should be cut off, when he was close to the bridge where he had been defeated.

When the Adelantado heard of the intention of Orgoñez, he said that what he wanted to do must not be done in such haste; not until they had taken his confession, and drawn up an indictment against him. At this time Alonzo de Alvarado arrived, in great tribulation and anxiety of mind, and they ordered him to be put in irons, with guards over him. Those who stayed with [Diego] de Alvarado robbed and seized all the property in the camp, gold and silver, as well as clothing and all the other things that were there. It is true that the Adelantado afterwards caused a very large part of it to be returned to the owners.

The news reached the camp that they wanted to kill Alonzo de Alvarado, and when Diego de Alvarado heard it, he was much distressed, and thinking that he could not be dead before he arrived, he went with all speed to the Adelantado and said:

If our affairs are to be guided by passion, and in such a way that we shall be hated as cruel men, it seems to me that it will be very well to put Alonzo de Alvarado to death, but if we only claim to establish the bounds of your Government, there is no reason for it; for Alonzo de Alvarado has only done his duty. For being who he is, and for complying with the charge with which he was entrusted, would you kill him?

When the Adelantado heard this he embraced Diego de Alvarado, asking him, very cheerily, how he had got on in prison. Then the contador Juan de Guzman arrived and the others who had been taken prisoners, and were made welcome, Almagro laughing very heartily at the account Don Alonzo Enriquez gave of their imprisonment. The captain Garcilasso de la Vega, when he heard of the defeat, came at once to the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. Gomez de Tordoya and some others were made prisoners. Hearing that Pedro de Lerma had not come in, and fearing that he might be killed by the Indians, the Adelantado ordered the Inca Paulo to send some of his people in search, and at the end of two days Pedro de Lerma arrived, with his feet much cut and bruised. The Adelantado received him well, and from that time forward treated him as a trusted friend. The captains Francisco de Chaves and Vasco de Guevara ordered their

men to set fire to the buildings in Cochacaxa, and though they promised not to steal any of the property there, they did not leave a single thing. The remaining troops of Alonzo de Alvarado, seeing that their captains were prisoners, agreed to go over to Almagro, and presently did so, in company with the captains Vasco de Guevara and Francisco de Chaves. The Adelantado rejoiced that he had completed this business without so many being killed as they thought, while the numbers of his army had been much increased. He ordered a proclamation to be issued that those who had been deprived of any of their property, and knew it to be in possession of any one who came with him, were to ask for it, and it would be immediately returned to them. In this way some horses, negroes, and other things were restored. In order to satisfy the defeated men, and to convince them that the attack was not made at night in order to rob them, some declaring that their money and clothes had been stolen, Almagro ordered them to be paid for their losses. On the side of Alvarado there fell those already mentioned. On Almagro's side only a drummer who was carried away by the stream; and seven were wounded, but none mortally.

When it was all over Almagro addressed the followers of Alonzo de Alvarado saying that he certainly had no wish to bring them to his side by means of war, and that he would have rejoiced if Alonzo de Alvarado had obeyed the royal Decrees as His Majesty had ordered, for had they recognised him as Governor he would have shown the liking he had for them. He and they were the people who had placed themselves where they now were, being predestined to right the injustice of the Governor. But he added, the past is passed, and from that time forward they should hold him to be a true friend, and follow him in anything that might occur; for he promised to honour them all and confer great benefits on them, and *encomiendas* of Indians in very rich countries, as they all knew. These and other gracious words were spoken by the Adelantado, and they replied that they would be faithful friends and would obey him in every thing he desired. He said further that Pedro de Lerma should be their captain and

that they would be sent with him to make war on the Inca, that all might profit by the great treasure which that prince always carried with him.

Almagro then called a meeting of all the captains to consider the situation. When they were assembled, they discussed among them how the government of Don Diego de Almagro extended to the City of the Kings, and that it would be right for the Adelantado to march there with all the forces he could muster, until His Majesty had been informed of what had taken place, and should decree what would further conduce to his service. That Diego de Alvarado should take an order to the city of Cuzco, to behead Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Alonzo de Alvarado, and Gomez de Tordoya, and that he should be appointed lieutenant-general at Cuzco, in the absence of the Adelantado. Such was the counsel given by Rodrigo Orgoñez who stated reasons why this course was advisable, and urged that great evils would be caused by taking any other. The Adelantado agreed to this, and ordered the captain Sosa to prepare the order and decree for Diego de Alvarado to take with him.

Afterwards, during the night, Diego de Alvarado, Gomez de Alvarado, the archdeacon Rodrigo Perez, and the captain Salcedo met together and they spoke with the Adelantado and asked him, what had become of his judgment that he should order so wicked a thing to be done, so much to his discredit as to march against the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro who was quiet and peaceful within his jurisdiction. He should understand that if he did this it would always be considered a disgraceful proceeding and all his acts would be blackened and he would be looked upon as a very oppressive and rash man. He ought not to want, nor to seek, nor to strive for any other thing than the government of the territory granted to him by His Majesty, for if he did any other thing it would not be justified. The Adelantado, following their view of the case, expressed his agreement with it.

Rodrigo Orgoñez came next morning for orders to start that day for the City of the Kings, and to carry out the rest of his proposals. But Almagro said he had determined not

to proceed with so much rigour, for His Majesty would be ill served by such proceedings. When Rodrigo Orgoñez heard this he said that he neither understood, nor could he understand how a decision come to overnight could be reversed next morning, and that the thing was laughable. He added that Almagro should consider well what he did, for Pizarro himself had little to give him, moreover that he should be guided by his party and act in accordance with their views, if he did not wish the time to come when his enemies should cast great opprobrium on him. He could not believe that there could now be any true friendship between himself and the Pizarros, and any one who thought otherwise could have little judgment. He should reflect on the opportunity and diligently avail himself of it, for in a matter of honour nothing should turn him from putting into execution what was desirable. He should remember how Pedrarias Davila put the Adelantado Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to death, although he was his son-in-law, and did the same to Francisco Hernández. If he did not treat these men in the same way, God alone could tell what would happen, for in these parts of the Indies, he who went forward and remained in front always prevailed. When Cortés captured Narvaez who was the King's Governor, his death did no harm to Cortés¹. As he knew that, why should his heart shrink or should he be daunted, and not be Governor over what the King had given him.

The Adelantado answered:

I hold Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro prisoners, as well as Alonzo de Alvarado and Gomez de Tordoya, and others in whom Francisco Pizarro has great confidence. With the men who have now joined us, our force is so increased, that it will be an easy matter for us, if the Governor will not quit the limits of my jurisdiction, which extends to the valley of Lima, to march against him and do as you propose, or to wait until the Bishop Fray Tomás de Berlanga arrives in person to settle the boundary between our Governments. It will do us no harm to follow this plan, moreover we have many friends in the City of the Kings. As to what you say about Pedrarias, I know what happened, and

¹ Cortés captured Narvaez but did not kill him—Narvaez returned to Spain.

it was different from our business. I beg you not to be vexed, and may God guide matters so that there may be no more quarrels.

Orgoñez, laying his hand on his beard, said:

Please God it may so fall out, but as to my advice, there should be no failure to go to the City of the Kings, for when Don Francisco Pizarro knows what has happened he will rally his forces, and he will not lack experienced men who know how to follow war and conduct it fearlessly.

The Adelantado ordered his captains to march with all their men to the city of Cuzco, and be careful to guard the persons of Alonzo de Alvarado and the other captains of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. It was done as he ordered and they arrived at Cuzco on the 17th July, where the prisoners were placed in security.

What happened in the city in those days was that the Governor Don Diego de Almagro tried persistently and with great cunning to make friends with those who had been at Abancay with Alonzo de Alvarado, offering great hopes that when he had finished the business in hand he would grant them great favours and divide the province among them; and to the settlers in the city, whom he saw were neutral, or who did not join his side willingly, he made great promises providing them in his speeches and disbursing considerable sums of money among them. The General Rodrigo Orgoñez collected all the arms and saw to their repair and the manufacture of powder and arquebuses and other munitions of war. When Hernando Pizarro heard in his prison of the defeat of Alonzo de Alvarado, he felt it deeply, and lamented such adverse fortune. Diego de Alvarado came to visit him in prison, and during his visit they agreed to play at cards. In the several occasions that they played, Hernando Pizarro won from Diego de Alvarado eighty thousand pesos in gold and silver. When Diego de Alvarado sent to pay him, Hernando Pizarro, being a wise man, and seeking to gain friends, sent the money back and requested Diego de Alvarado to accept it, for he held himself to be well paid by the pleasure of playing with him.

Diego de Alvarado, seeing Hernando Pizarro's goodwill, and appreciating his great liberality, conceived a great friendship for him and saved his life on several occasions when others wanted to take it.

CHAPTER XVIII

How NICOLÁS DE RIBERA arrived at the city of Cuzco and what passed between him and the Adelantado; and how the licentiates ESPINOSA and DE LA GAMA, the factor ILLAN SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL and DIEGO DE FUENMAYOR also came to Cuzco to treat for peace.

I HAVE already related that the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro sent Nicolás de Ribera from Huarco to the city of Cuzco¹ with letters to the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, asking him to release Hernando Pizarro and the others he held in prison, and, without debate or fighting, to come to terms and agree to respect the Decrees, and acknowledge the limits of the two governments. Ribera used all speed and arrived at Cuzco, where he was well received by the Adelantado, who, as soon as he saw the letter, became aware of the large force which the Governor was bringing with him. Almagro summoned a meeting of his captains and principal persons who were his friends to discuss the object of Ribera's mission. They all advised him to place no faith in the Governor's words or letters. Almagro then told Ribera to inform the Governor that Hernando Pizarro was imprisoned for crimes he had committed and at present he could not be released, and, giving a letter for the Governor to Ribera, he ordered him to return. What he said in the letter was that, knowing how the Governor and his brothers always treated him (Almagro) deceitfully he did not trust their words. He knew what Hernando Pizarro said about him in Spain, in

¹ In Chapter XIII it is stated that Pizarro resolved to send to Cuzco, but the name of Nicolás de Ribera is not mentioned.

return for all the good offices he had received from him, and he could not have true friendship with them unless they evacuated the part of his government which he occupied. Ribera requested permission to be allowed to see Hernando Pizarro. Almagro consented, but as Hernando Pizarro knew that Ribera was a great friend of Almagro, he did not care to discuss the matter at length with him, so, as he was ready to go, Nicolás de Ribera set out on his journey and the Adelantado returned to the city.

It is time to turn to the proceedings of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro who, as I have related, was in the fortress of Huarco¹, and on learning what had taken place at Cuzco, had sent Gomez de Leon, who had arrived from Alonzo de Alvarado with the news, and Nicolás de Ribera, to the city of Cuzco as an embassy to Almagro. He collected all the arms and men that could be obtained in the City of the Kings, so as to be supported by sufficient force should the men of Chile attack him. He at once set out to go up by the country of the Soras, to join Alonzo de Alvarado, and arriving at the pueblo of Chinchá, he was very well received by the chiefs. There he determined to have an inspection to see whether the Spaniards were well armed. This was done. He then nominated the principal officers of his army—

FELIPE GUTIERREZ (*Captain-General*)
 PEDRO DE PORTUGAL } (*Captains*)
 DIEGO DE URBINA }

By the advice of his friends he selected twelve valiant and determined men who, with arquebuses and halberds, were to have the care of his person. He then marched to the pueblo of La Nasca, which is also called Caxamarca, where he ordered his camp to be formed. He was very anxious to receive news of Alonzo de Alvarado, which was not long delayed; for after setting out from Huarco, Gomez de Leon and others who went under his command travelled with all possible speed to the province of Sora, which is 15 leagues from Cochacaxa, where Alonzo de Alvarado had first formed his camp. As his

¹ This must be the Inca fortress now called Hervay, near the coast, on the southern border of the valley of Huarco, now called Cañete.

defeat by Almagro was already well known to the Indians, the natives of the pueblo of the Soras related how he had been taken prisoner and removed to Cuzco. All the Christians when they heard this news decided to go no further, but to return to La Nasca where Pizarro had formed his camp. The heart of man often divines the news it waits for, and when Pizarro saw his messengers returning, he cried in a loud voice: "What is the reason that you have come back? tell me quickly the news that you bring." Gomez de Leon said that one must have patience in these times. He then related how Alonzo de Alvarado had been defeated and taken prisoner by Almagro and his troops, and that they had learnt it from the Indians around Cochacaxa. This was sad news for the Governor, indeed he had never received any to equal it. He greatly feared that Almagro would march against him, having already collected all the force he could muster. Much enraged and almost shouting he cried:

Neither my labours nor my brotherly relations with Almagro deserved such treatment of my affairs, or that he should show himself so cruel and so openly my enemy: invading the realm with colours flying and drums beating, as if forsooth, I had declared against the King's service and refused the obedience I owe as a subject, and, by his own order and authority he comes to pervert my provinces to his obedience. Not content with having invaded the city of Cuzco and imprisoned my brothers as we already know, he has attacked Alonzo de Alvarado who was awaiting my orders, defeated and imprisoned him. This is assuredly a very disgraceful act, and I grieve that he should have committed it. It would have been right, supposing that the city of Cuzco does fall, as he says, within the limits of his province, that he should have come to settle it with me. For I hold the country in my charge by order of His Majesty, and I am his Captain General in these provinces. He should have reflected that I founded that city, and won it from the possession of the Indians. We should have settled the question together, and if Cuzco fell within his limits he should have held it, with the blessing of God. But he will not arrange matters in this way, nor will he remember the oath which we both made in the city of Cuzco. As he has chosen to take this course I trust in God to do me justice, and I would rather lose my life than fail to regain what belongs to me.

Having said this he called an assembly of the principal people in the camp, who were the Comendador Bobadilla, the bachelor Garcia Diaz Arias, the licentiate Espinosa, Diego de Fuenmayor, Felipe Gutierrez, Diego de Urbina, the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, the licentiate de la Gama, and some others. They discussed the state of affairs and how ill things now appeared, and that if Almagro should march down upon them things would be much worse than they were already. Most of them thought that the Governor should go to Cuzco and confer with the Adelantado, because, by recalling the brotherly relations that had existed between them, they might adjust matters and come to agreement and peace.

The licentiate Espinosa and the bachelor Garcia Diaz were of a different opinion. They held that it would not be prudent for the Governor to place himself in the power of Almagro, without considering the greater evils that might arise. For it was clear, that when they had him there, they would kill him, or make him do their bidding. It would be much better for the Governor to return to the City of the Kings and increase his army, for there he would find men to join it, than to put himself into the power of Almagro and Orgoñez.

After some further discussion, this advice was adopted, and the Governor Pizarro decided to follow it. He spoke to all those who were with him, and begged them to follow and help him against those who wanted to deprive him of the government which he had gained with so much labour; he added that any who would not go with him willingly were at liberty to go where they chose. Seeing that Almagro was now obsessed with the ambition of governing, and that those who surrounded him would never give wise or prudent advice, for, thinking that with peace they could not gain any share in the land, they would endeavour to incite wars, so that Almagro might keep the whole of it, he still desired to come to some agreement; but while negotiations were going on, he would return to the City of the Kings to arrange the largest force possible. He therefore determined to send to Cuzco the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama, Diego de Fuenmayor, the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, and with them

Hernan Gonzalez and Antonio Álvarez and some others. He gave them authority to examine the Decrees he held and those held by Diego de Almagro, and to determine the boundaries they thought to be correct, until His Majesty should order otherwise.

He then had an interview with them and said:

Knowing them to be gentlemen, well acquainted with affairs, anxious for peace, who would do their best in the service of God and His Majesty, he wished to send them to the City of Cuzco to make arrangements with Almagro (so as to avoid more scandals) by which he should liberate Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro, his brothers, Alonzo de Alvarado, and the others whom he holds as prisoners, and, that they might accomplish these things, he gave them full powers, and trusted they would justify the hope and confidence he reposed in them.

They replied that they would go wherever he might order and do all in their power to make as good a treaty of peace as was possible.

The secretary was ordered to prepare the commission they were to receive from the Governor, and with that and the letters to Almagro, to some citizens of Cuzco, and to Hernando Pizarro, they set out from La Nasca.

Arriving at the province of the Lucanes, they met Nicolás de Ribera, and heard from him what was going on in Cuzco. Thence they used all speed, arriving at Cuzco on Wednesday, 8th August. When the Adelantado heard of their arrival, he ordered them to be met, and received them with great honour, they being persons to whom it was due. He asked them how the Governor was, whether he would await them at La Nasca, or was returning to the City of the Kings. They answered that he would see the Governor's plans by the letters they brought, and that they believed he was returning to the City of the Kings, to await them there.

After Almagro had seen the letters they brought and understood their contents, he summoned a meeting of the captains and friends to consider the questions in debate, and addressed them, saying, that the limits of his government extended to Lima, and that being the case, it should satisfy the Governor,

Don Francisco Pizarro. Orgoñez answered him, that if he had taken his advice at Abancay, he would have gone to Lima, and would now hold it, but now that the Governor has gone there, he will raise as large a force as he can in that city, and the negotiations he wished to open had no other object than to liberate Hernando Pizarro and to become so powerful as to be able to resist anyone who came against him. Orgoñez then advised Almagro, first to cut off the head of Hernando Pizarro, and then to march with all his force against the Governor at the City of the Kings, and at once to send a ship to Panama, so that the Bishop Fray Tomás de Berlanga could come to settle the boundaries of the two governments, for which duty he has received a commission or royal Decree from His Majesty.

Diego de Alvarado replied that there was no reason whatever for putting Hernando Pizarro to death, it being sufficient to keep him as a prisoner, and that they should examine the powers entrusted by the Governor to those who had been sent to the city; for it might be that they could suggest some expedient to prevent a rupture, leaving the Adelantado in possession of the greater part of the provinces, until the arrival of the Bishop of Panama. After some further discussion it was resolved to communicate more fully with the messengers and to see how far the powers given by the Governor extended.

I shall not be surprised, on the contrary I presume that it will be the case, that the reader will be confused, and will find it difficult to comprehend the history I am relating, until he comes to the Battle of Las Salinas. There were so many events happening at the same time, and so many delays, that it has been with much difficulty and great labour that I have been able to make it all clear. Though the rule and government may be over a small region, it never could prosper under divided authority. Hence arose the discord and great debates between the Governors Pizarro and Almagro, each one desiring to govern that kingdom. For in truth it contains the richest provinces in the world where there is much gold and silver; and to understand it all the curious reader should keep in mind what went before, that he may be able to understand what follows.

CHAPTER XIX

Of the negotiations and compacts made between the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO and the messengers from the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

THREE days after their arrival in the city of Cuzco, the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama, the factor, and Diego de Fuenmayor, requested the Adelantado to allow them to see Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro, where they were imprisoned in the building of the Temple of the Sun, as they would consider it a great favour. Almagro gave his consent to their paying this visit, and they went at once with great pleasure. When they arrived where Hernando Pizarro was imprisoned they embraced him and his brother, who did the same to their visitors. They asked after their brother the Governor and what he had thought of their imprisonment, and related how ill the Adelantado had acted towards him. The envoys replied that the Governor had felt their imprisonment so deeply, showing how much he loved them, that they at his orders had come to treat for their release, hoping that the Governors might come to an agreement and leave no excuse for dissensions, which were much against the service of God and His Majesty to continue. Hernando Pizarro said that he would rejoice to be free from the prison in whatever manner it might be effected, for they knew the haste with which he came from Spain to take the gold that might be in the kingdom to His Majesty. They answered that they would use all their powers to secure his freedom.

Rodrigo Orgoñez, almost as if he foresaw the vengeance that Hernando Pizarro was destined to take against them, urged the Adelantado to cut off his head, and those of Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado, and that he should not be deceived by the vain words and sayings of those who do not understand war. But as the Adelantado had a very high opinion of the advice of Diego de Alvarado, he would not move a point from what he had counselled, and one can well

believe that Diego de Alvarado was often the cause of his [Hernando's] life being saved. The Adelantado had ordered an indictment to be prepared against Hernando Pizarro, and he ordered the property of Hernando and his brother to be sequestered, though a great quantity had already been stolen. One day he sent for the licentiate Espinosa and his colleagues, and discoursed with them about the negotiations they had come to set on foot by order of the Governor, saying that for his part he desired nothing better than to be at peace with Don Francisco Pizarro as there had always been brotherly friendship between them. They answered that he could examine the arrangement by which peace might be secured between him and the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro until the arrival of the Bishop of Panama to fix the boundary between their two governments. The Adelantado said he knew quite well that his government extended to the city of Lima, but that he would refer it to the arbitration of persons who should settle the matter until the Bishop arrived. They answered that they had full powers to treat from the Governor, and that he should look to it if he wished to settle the matter at once. The Adelantado said that he must first consult his captains and obtain their opinions. They replied that it must be as he ordered, bearing in mind how necessary it was to lose as little time as possible in a business which was so important as that between him and Don Francisco Pizarro, and that the settlement should be quickly made in order to avoid the evils of a rupture. The Adelantado said that he would work so that the business might be quickly despatched.

That night Almagro spoke with Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, and with his general Rodrigo Orgoñez, with the treasurer Alónzo Riquelme, and with the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Cristoval de Sotelo, Gabriel de Rojas, Hernan Ponce, and Vasco de Guevara, respecting the coming of the messengers from the Governor, asking them what they thought should be arranged about the boundaries of the governments pending the arrival of the Bishop of Panama. There was an altercation. Some said they should claim Lima, others that as far as Chincha would suffice, others named Huarco as

the limit of Almagro's jurisdiction, and the country beyond that to the west should belong to Don Francisco Pizarro, and to this they all agreed. Next day the Adelantado went to the lodging of Hernan Ponce accompanied by all the captains and many other gentlemen. They there renewed the discussion saying that a very good boundary would be the limits of the Cacique of Navarro which fell within the province of Huarco. The Adelantado then said to Hernan Ponce and Pedro Barrosa that they were to go, on his part, to the lodging of the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama, and tell them that they are requested to come to where he was awaiting them, to treat about what he had discussed with them. As soon as they heard this, they went at once to see what was settled. When they were in presence of Almagro, he said to them:

I now let you know our decision, as all these gentlemen who are here present are of opinion that my boundary should be as far as the cacique of Navarro, we may remain at peace until the Bishop of Tierra Firme arrives to define the jurisdictions. You have power for this, use it so that the agreement between you and me may be firm, and be respected by the Governor.

They answered "It is doubtful whether the powers we hold from the Governor are sufficient for so very important a matter; however, Hernando Pizarro, brother of the Governor, is in the city and it would be proper for us to give him an account of the matter and if he thinks it should be done, we will concur." The Adelantado replied that he was content that this should be done, that they might go at once to the prison of Hernando Pizarro, and ascertain whether he would agree to these proposals. They then went to the Temple of the Sun to consult him. The Adelantado said to those who remained with him: "If they have to go by the opinion of Hernando Pizarro I do not think that any good will come of it." Rodrigo Orgoñez said: "I perfectly understand the mission of the licentiates, they are working for delay, and they will never do anything that will be good for us. It would be much better to cut off the head of Hernando Pizarro and to treat on that basis from La Nasca instead of waiting for these compacts."

As soon as they arrived at the prison of Hernando Pizarro, the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama told him what had passed with the Adelantado, and where he wished to place his boundary. When Hernando Pizarro understood it he replied that they should make the treaty in the best way possible on condition that he was released from prison, for they knew how desirable it was that he should proceed to Spain to take to His Majesty the gold of his royal fifths. The licentiate Espinosa answered and said:

I have experience in these parts of the Indies. Those Governors who contend over differences, lose their property, and not only find themselves deprived of what they claim, but most of them come to great calamities and severe imprisonments and even die in them, which is what one deploras most of all. What, therefore, I assert is that if the Governor does not make a peaceful treaty with the Adelantado Almagro, without engaging in a war, they will never be free from great disorders and troubles. His Majesty, seeing these dissensions, will be obliged to find a remedy for this country, which is his, and send peaceful men to restore order, depriving those who had previously held office, who will have to render a strict account of their proceedings. When one of the Judges of *Residencia* sets foot in a province or new kingdom, those who were first in command are never restored to their former positions, or, if any have been, they are very few in number. I say this because, for my part, I wish, now that I have consented to become a mediator in these negotiations, so to arrange between the Governors that in future there shall always be peace between them, for the despatch of these negotiations does not permit of anything else. This I say in order that your opinion may not be given as that of a man who, being oppressed and longing for his liberty, is ready to agree to any arrangement, and afterwards remembering what he has gone through, thinks any excuse good enough to avenge his past wrongs, which incite to war in such a way that more prudent men, and those with greater fear of God acting on principle, desire to avoid it, yet find themselves unable to abandon it. Therefore, your aim should be, on being liberated, to seek peace and not promote war.

Hernando Pizarro then said:

I well understand that you, being a gentleman, and learned in the law, are anxious to guide things in the way of peace and to avoid war, and I quite see your point of view. I will not answer you

fully, as the time does not serve. My intention and will is to be true in all things and to be ever ready to serve His Majesty. I would have you manage the affair as seems best to you, always guarding the rights of the Governor for, when the King is informed of the truth, he will do what is just and most conducive to his service. I promise, on my part, that your negotiations shall never suffer any prejudice at my hands.

After having conversed with Gonzalo Pizarro, the licentiate Espinosa and de la Gama departed, leaving Hernando Pizarro very anxious that they should so treat with Almagro as to secure his release.

CHAPTER XX

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO arrived at the City of the Kings, and of what else happened in the city of Cuzco.

AFTER the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro had despatched the messengers to Cuzco, as I have related in the previous chapters, that they might treat for peace with the Adelantado Almagro, he promptly decided to return to the City of the Kings, so that if the efforts of his messengers were not successful, he could increase his army, and make all necessary preparations for war. He, therefore, gave orders to his captains and their followers to march quickly, as it was urgent that they should return to Lima as soon as possible. They all answered that they would carry out his orders. Travelling by the deserts and valleys he fell in with and helped some men who had escaped from the defeat at the bridge of Abancay; and even some who came from the city of Cuzco. As these were hated by the men of Chile, who had treated them as enemies, they told stories of the ill-usage put upon the friends of Pizarro by Almagro and his captains, and said they could not have been treated worse if they had been infidels and foreigners. Although many things that they stated were false and untrue they were eagerly listened to by the Governor,

though to conceal the enmity he already felt for Almagro, he did not let it be seen that he gave credit to all he was told. Some who heard these reports, and who had wished to serve under Almagro because of the fame of his generosity, now became cool as regards that wish, and placed themselves entirely at the service of the Governor; also because they saw that a larger force than that of Almagro would soon be collected. For in this land the dispositions of the people are so variable and changeable that what they promise to-day they disown to-morrow, only thinking of their own interests. So it is that no one can trust in the word of another, for on the first occasion it will be broken.

Some days later Don Francisco Pizarro arrived at the City of the Kings, where he was welcomed by the authorities and all the inhabitants, who were rejoiced at the sight of him, saying the news of the imprisonment of Hernando Pizarro and the defeat of Alonzo de Alvarado had caused them great perturbation. After the Governor had rested for a few days from the fatigues of the journey, he ordered all the men in the city to be mustered, so as to ascertain their number, and he sent an order to the city of Truxillo to summon the people, thinking to fortify the city and barricade it, and build towers and other defences against the men of Chile if they should come to assault the place. As matters had already come to a rupture, and Almagro claimed the province, he had no intention of surrendering the share he had in it and would not only resist the advance of Almagro should he come to attack him, but would compel him to evacuate the city of Cuzco, which he had occupied, and, in that event, cut off his head, if that were feasible. Displaying banners and beating drums, he declared war upon Almagro and ordered proclamation to be made. Before this time the captain Pedro de Vergara, a valiant man and expert in war, arrived, who brought many arquebuses, crossbows and other arms to the kingdom.

As governors and captains take little notice of a man, however worthy he may be, if they have no need for him, at the time when the Governor had set out from Los Reyes, he had refused to find the money to assist in paying Vergara's freights.

This was felt very deeply by Pedro de Vergara, who even thought of going to Cuzco in quest of Don Diego de Almagro. But when the Governor [on his return] heard how well Vergara understood the art of war, he spoke very graciously to him, formed a friendship with him, and appointed him captain of arquebusmen, and did the same with Pedro de Castro. Diego de Urbina was nominated captain of pikemen, Juan Perez captain of crossbowmen, and Pedro de Valdivia, who was afterwards Governor of Chile, became quartermaster. Villalba was serjeant-major, and Jeronimo de Aliaga chief ensign. Having appointed his principal officers the Governor began to spend money in providing all that was necessary for the soldiers.

I will now relate what happened in the city of Cuzco. After the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama had finished their conversation with Hernando Pizarro, they returned to negotiate with Diego de Fuenmayor and Illan Suarez de Carbajal, wishing, on their part, to contrive that the negotiation should be successful, and secure peace and concord between the two Governors. Talking over this question they went to the lodging of the Adelantado, where they found that he had another proposal to make. It was that having again talked over the matter with his captains, they thought that the proposed boundary appeared very limited, for if they wanted to found a city on the plains there would not be a sufficient number of Indians to divide amongst the settlers who would have to live there, and that it should be arranged with the messengers from the Governor to extend the Adelantado's boundary as far as Mala. Diego de Fuenmayor and the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama all arriving at the same time, as soon as they came in the Adelantado said to them:

With regard to what we said yesterday about the boundary, after thinking it over, it strikes me that the space left to me from Huarca to La Nasca is very limited for founding a city which must of necessity be on the plain, while the city of Los Reyes has very wide limits. Let me have as far as the town of Mala, and on this basis we shall come to terms.

When the licentiate de la Gama heard this he said, half laughing "How is this? In the morning he asks us for it as far as the Cacique of Navarro and now they want it to be as far as Mala." He, and all his colleagues, seeing that the demands were going beyond reason, replied that they must go again to Hernando Pizarro to learn his opinion. When they had so spoken, the Adelantado gave them leave to speak to him. On arrival at the Temple of the Sun where Hernando was imprisoned, they told him all that had happened, and asked him what they should do, for they knew that his brother the Governor would approve of any advice he might give. Hernando Pizarro answered and said:

I know for certain that my brother, the Governor, has confidence in you, from the disposition you show to further his interests and mine, and I clearly understand that you wish to see me clear of this place and in the city of Los Reyes. As you have already begun these negotiations with the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro do not delay or fail to conclude them, on the contrary bring them to an end as speedily as possible so that I may be freed from the prison in which I am now. Give him what he wants, notwithstanding what you have pointed out to him, for the King will decree in this matter what is most to his service.

When he had said this the messengers went away and returned to Almagro. Certain terms were then drawn up and signed by those who held the powers from Pizarro, and by Almagro, binding them and him to keep them firm and stable until the arrival of the Bishop of Tierra Firme to delimit the boundary.

As the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa was a man of great learning and saw that it was no light matter that was in dispute between the Governors, and that if men prudent and free from passion did not give them advice and intervene in what concerned them they would be lost, and the land would come to dire destruction, he took the Adelantado aside and thus addressed him:

If all the men who were ever in the world, with those who are now alive and those who are yet to come, would give their attention solely to serving God and to guiding affairs by the light of reason, remaining content with what is justly theirs and belongs

to them, there would not be so many wars and so many great battles; but as it is the inclination of the human mind always to wish to command and dominate, in following this ambition not only have many great lords and kings perished, but their souls also have been in danger of perdition. For when it is a question of ruling, a father will disown his son and a son will cause the death of his father. What suffer most are the miserable countries, which are wasted and ruined, and most of their people killed, the buildings in their cities being left in ruins, which is a great grief to see. These wars commence for trifling reasons, but afterwards they become inflamed to such an extent that, although even those who were the causes of them desire to bring them to an end, they cannot do so. The wars which are most to be feared and are most cruel are civil wars. In Rome the State was never in such peril from foreign invaders, such as Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as through its own citizens; and in no wars that the Romans waged during 700 years were they in greater danger than in the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, and of Pompey the great and Julius Cæsar. But without referring to such momentous events, many cities of Spain have been ruined and half depopulated owing to the feuds between them.

If now you, in your old age, after having served His Majesty so long, become the authors of civil war, what benefit is it that you expect to get. After deaths on both sides you will have been your own murderers, and there will come a judge, by royal order, and you will lose the governments or even your lives. Fly from the thought that it will be said that, in your time, there was war of Spaniards against Spaniards. It is in your hands to prevent this, by agreement with the Governor. Do not be deceived by the advice of immature young men. Do not insist in believing that all your success depends on obtaining the district of Mala. Wait for the arrival of the Bishop of Panama so that, the boundary having been ascertained, each one will understand what belongs to him, and will know the favour His Majesty grants him.

The Adelantado said to him:

I wish, licentiate, that you had said this to the Governor before you came here. He must know that his government, commencing at the river of Santiago, cannot extend as far as Cuzco, nor reach Lima. Content with what he holds, let him freely leave me what His Majesty has granted to me¹, which I mean to keep, or lose my life.

¹ Here again the real point is not impressed upon Almagro; that it was for the arbitrator and not for him to decide the limit of his government.

The licentiate replied, "Very well then, do you know what I expect from this negotiation? 'The conquered, conquered, and the conqueror undone,'¹ and with this I go." Then going to his lodging he had a sudden illness, which caused his death, as I shall relate further on.

The Adelantado then called in council Orgoñez, Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, the captains Guevara and Chaves, Hernan Ponce, Sotelo, Rojas and others. It was debated what they had better do, for the Governor would be able to gather together a large force and march against them without much difficulty, and it would be best to leave Cuzco and march on the city of Lima. Orgoñez always gave the advice that Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro should be killed, so as to make sure of their advantage. Diego de Alvarado and Vasco de Guevara were on the side of the prisoners, advising that they should not be killed as Orgoñez wished.

At that meeting nothing more was settled except that weapons should be got ready, and powder made, that duty being entrusted to Pedro de Candia. It was also ordered that many pikes should be made, so as to be ready when needed. Orgoñez was first to march from Cuzco to defeat the Inca, so that he should not return and lay siege to the city of Cuzco.

CHAPTER XXI

Death of the Licentiate GASPAR DE ESPINOSA. How the other messengers returned to Lima, and how RODRIGO DE ORGOÑEZ went to defeat the Inca where he was strongly fortified.

Now the narrative has recounted what took place in the city of Cuzco between the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro and the messengers from the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, who came to negotiate with him, and how the Adelantado drew up those documents which they had to sign, giving him the pueblo of Mala as his boundary.

¹ A Spanish adage.

However, the signatures could not be appended owing to the illness of the licentiate Espinosa; so thinking that he would soon be well, the signing was postponed for a few days; but he got worse, and for several days nothing could be settled between the Adelantado and the messengers.

As Almagro intended shortly to march from Cuzco, he was anxious about the Inca who, refusing to be friendly with the Christians, had strengthened himself in the valley of Amaypampa, so he feared that when he left the city to march to Lima, the Inca would come against it and besiege it and renew the past critical situation. As Almagro had great confidence in Orgoñez, and as Orgoñez asked for the job, expecting to find much treasure, Almagro ordered him to march with two hundred Spaniards, horse and foot, and go and subdue the Inca. Orgoñez desired nothing better and got ready the men who were chosen to go with him to defeat Manco Inca, all of them believing that they would return rich with what they could capture.

In order to describe this expedition clearly, it will be necessary first to say something about Manco Inca.

It may be stated that when the Inca received information of what was happening among the Christians, seeing that their dealings with him had always been successful, and that good fortune had always been on their side, it seemed to him that he would no longer be able to retain his position at [Ollantay] Tambo and he decided to move to Amaypampa, where, as the locality was very rugged, by preparing trenches and barricades he would be able to defend himself if they attacked him. Having told this to the Huillac Umu and the other great lords who were with him, they all concurred and the move from Tambo was effected. Before leaving they armed themselves, and in a great square near their camp where an Idol stood, they begged and prayed it, with many tears, sobs and sighs, not to desert them. Near this Idol were others with insignia of the Sun and the Moon, and in the presence of these, which they looked upon as gods, they offered sacrifices by killing many animals on their shrines or altars. This was done on account of the news, that came daily from Cuzco, of the

dissensions that had arisen among their enemies the Christians, and that Don Francisco Pizarro was coming with a great army of Spaniards and had turned aside from the pueblo of La Nasca, but in spite of this both parties were advancing the more clearly to engage in war, which had already been declared. The result of this would be that most of the Spaniards would die (a lucky thing for them [the natives] as they could promptly kill those who were left and recover their liberty) and they prayed the gods to grant them help, and so to inflame the rancour of the Christians that they [the natives] might come out of the trouble in the way they all desired.

I have always given great attention to accuracy in my history as well as painstaking, and in what concerned the Spaniards I sought out wise men who were truthful, so as to gain information and obtain reports of the events of which I was not myself an eyewitness. I also took the same trouble to obtain accurate information about events concerning the Indians, by getting reports from those better acquainted with them who had themselves seen with their own eyes the events about which I questioned them. Much of what happened during the stubborn war and siege of Cuzco, as well as what I am now relating was received by me in detail from a captain of Huayna Capac named Pisca, who was with Manco Inca throughout the siege of Cuzco. Some information was derived from a youth of the Orejones who had been a servant of Manco Inca and now serves Juan Ortiz de Zárate.

The sacrifices having been completed after the manner of their ancestors, Manco Inca and his people departed to the valley above named, taking great care of the Christians they held as prisoners, especially the captain Ruy Diaz who had received no small amount of ill-treatment at their hands. When they arrived at the valley of Amaypampa they fortified the camp which was situated in the most rugged place they could find, where they would be safe from the horses. Every day they sent messengers to Paulo telling him to come and join them, as he had served long enough with the Christians. But Paulo cautiously replied that he must always retain his friendship for these men who were so valiant that they could

never fail to be victorious. He added that when there were only two hundred Spaniards in Cuzco the Indians had assembled over two hundred thousand to kill them, and the only honour and benefit they got from it was that many children were left fatherless and many women widows and, as he had been told, more than fifty thousand men had died in the war. Paulo further advised the messengers and other Indians who came and went between the camps not to take up arms against the Spaniards. When Manco Inca heard what Paulo had said he was enraged against him, and, that his people might cease to esteem him, said much to his dishonour, and that the Christians were treating him badly, and that Almagro—as if it were in his power to do so—had named and appointed him Inca. Some days passed during which the Inca and Huillac Umu ordered many barricades to be made on the roads from the city, and many broad and deep pits to be dug so as to kill the horses and their riders.

When Rodrigo de Orgoñez left Cuzco to subdue the Inca he ordered his men to march with all possible speed, for they had news that Ruy Diaz and the other Christian prisoners were alive. The news of the approach of the Spaniards was brought by his spies to the Inca, who ordered a number of warriors to be stationed at one of the posts which was thought to be most secure. With their stone axes they cut the rocks along the roads by which the Christians were approaching and so treated the hills which nature had placed there firm and strong, that in the places where it was seen that the horses could ascend and descend without difficulty, they cut or removed one part from the other, leaving a deep cavity, so that the horses could not pass there. Not content with having done this much, they even cut down the trees so as to block the road, in order that the Christians might find obstructions in all directions.

When Rodrigo Orgoñez arrived at the entrance of the valley he was told by some Indians, who were captured, what had been done, and the difficulties he would encounter before he could reach the fortifications of the Indians. This appeared to be true for, on advancing a little further, they found all the

passes so cut up, that they were impassable for the horses. So dismounting, the soldiers searched in every direction for a way by which the horses might pass; for, where they were going, they would be in great danger without horses. Orgoñez, making a great effort, managed to get through by a defective and toilsome path, and going along it with the utmost difficulty, they marched until they were again stopped by fallen trees. As it was already late and the sun was setting, they continued the march on foot. Orgoñez with some Spaniards had gone on ahead, but seeing that it would be prudent to unite his force and decide how to proceed, this was done.

They were all assembled on a hill where they pitched their tents for the night. Some of the swiftest men were sent out to reconnoitre the road, with orders to return quickly and report its condition. Next morning Orgoñez having received through his scouts news of the great noise the Indians were making, gave orders to march at once, and they arrived at the great fort where the Indians were stationed; many of the horses having fallen over the precipices on that rugged and dangerous road.

The Indians, seeing how near their enemies were, prepared to resist them with all their force. Orgoñez, as soon as he was quite close, ordered the crossbowmen to shoot many bolts, so that the Indians, seeing the damage that was done, might think best to abandon the fort. The Indians, to some extent, showed themselves to be determined and valiant, defending their position, and hurling many darts and stones against the Christians. However, at last the Spaniards wore them out, and they were compelled to abandon their position, and to save their lives had to take to the last resource, which was flight. There was great havoc among them, for many were killed and wounded.

The Inca escaped from another fort which was close by. Orgoñez, when he saw the Indians in flight, ordered them to be followed and the Spaniards went in pursuit of them as far as a bridge which crosses the river flowing through that valley. Before Orgoñez reached it, Espinosa, Francisco Ortiz, Francisco de Chaves, Hernan Gomez and some others got

there, and had overtaken the Indians, and captured from them some horses and mules, which in their hurry, and because they could not stop to get them over the bridge, they were forced to abandon. Orgoñez soon came up and, it now being late, he decided to sleep there.

Ruy Diaz and the other Christians held prisoner by the Inca, when they saw the confusion among the Indians, and that the Spaniards had got among them (as those in flight are ever cowards), were delighted to see that the time had arrived which they had longed for.

As no one prevented them, they came out of some small buildings, and joined the Spaniards, who rejoiced to see them, but were grieved to see Ruy Diaz so much changed. He gave them an account of the life he had led with the Indians, and how badly they had treated him.

Rodrigo Orgoñez was desirous either to capture the Inca, or so completely to defeat him that he would no longer be able to make war on the Spaniards. So he continued to pursue him, with his men. But the Inca was so alarmed at the Spaniards, that he fled over those rugged mountains with great speed, without waiting for the Indians to carry him in his rich litter, or his light and coloured hammock. He was so perturbed and fearful that he put it to his people, that he should wait for Orgoñez, and make peace with him, if offered on behalf of the Adelantado. However, nothing was done because his people advised him not to do so, lest they should instantly take his life. So the Inca continued his flight, and reached a very difficult mountain region, distant twenty-five leagues from the city of Cuzco.

The Spaniards continued the pursuit, and reached that place and captured most of his men; but the Inca escaped, by very great luck, accompanied by one woman only, to whom he was greatly attached. When Rodrigo Orgoñez knew that the Inca had escaped, he was much annoyed, but seeing there was no help for it, he returned to the place where he had formed his camp. Then he marched to Vilcas where he rested for two days. There he received letters from the Adelantado ordering him to return at once to Cuzco. This he did, first

setting free many of the Indians he had captured, who were in the service of the Inca. When these found themselves free, many of them returned to their own lands, others went after Manco Inca and the Huillac Umu, who was ere long to fall into the hands of the Christians in spite of his incantations and priestly function.

After these things had been done as related, Rodrigo Orgoñez returned to the city of Cuzco, where the negotiations were proceeding between the Adelantado and the licentiate de la Gama, Diego de Fuenmayor and the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal over a compact between Don Diego de Almagro and Don Francisco Pizarro, and this was what occurred: Before the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa should depart this life they would reconsider the previous heads of agreement. As the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro had told them that he would agree to any treaty made with Almagro, provided that his brother Hernando approved of it, and as Hernando Pizarro would consent to anything on the condition that he was let out of prison, he advised the messengers to come to terms with Almagro, in any way they could, so long as he, his brother Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado were set free. Though these things were discussed, no good end was reached, because they were all too crafty, and so far removed from confidence that it could not be otherwise. As they were not agreed in the matter of the boundary, the Adelantado said to the messengers, that as they had come with instructions to try and come to a settlement between him and the Governor Don Francisco and devise a way, so that neither between them nor their followers any tumult or disturbance should occur, either with regard to the governments or any other matters that might arise between them, and as he had no other wish than to settle where the boundary was, that each one might have jurisdiction in the territory assigned to him by His Majesty, and that the decision was entrusted by His Majesty to the Bishop of Tierra Firme, who had not yet arrived, he proposed, so that all might know his intentions, that he should nominate two wise and learned persons, and the Governor Francisco Pizarro should nominate

two others, and that each should give them full powers to obtain information from the pilots which would enable them to divide the governments and define the boundary.

If either of the two was then occupying territory assigned to the other, he must at once retire within his own limits. In this, he said, he cared more for a reasonable settlement than for his own fortune. He promised to abide by what the mediators decided, until His Majesty should order otherwise. Continuing, he said, "You others, since you are gentlemen, know how necessary peace is for all, and what he and I are settling all the kingdom must receive as fixed and stable. Advise the Governor not to turn his mind away from men who are peaceable and in no way disposed to sedition."

All these events, of which my history is treating, are described quite truly, the words being taken from the records of the notaries Domingo de la Presa and Alonzo de Silva, which they wrote down at the time, and I found the originals after much trouble, and at the cost of my own money. Not only have I taken similar care about my authorities in this book but also in all my histories. From beginning to end my narratives are based on the testimony of notaries, the books of municipalities, and the rest is on the evidence of my own eyes. In this connection I have to speak sometimes to confute those who are far from here, and so misled, staying in their houses or taking the air on their housetops, and who think from there to understand things which, so help me God, after travelling for sixteen years over the country I myself have not completely unravelled.

When the licentiate de la Gama and the factor and Diego de Fuenmayor had heard what the Adelantado had to say they replied that what he had said about avoiding angry disputes and differences appeared very good to them, as well as his wish to prevent any harm to His Majesty's service, so that the decision which the arbitrators to be named might come to would be observed and carried out without prejudice to the rights of either of them; and should His Majesty order otherwise, he would be obeyed by them. They added that they knew Don Francisco Pizarro to be such a servant of His

Majesty, that, in order that the royal interests should in no way be injured, he would agree to the arbitration which Almagro had suggested, and would name two other persons. In order that an agreement so much desired by all might be concluded, they expressed a desire to return and give an account of what was proposed to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro.

When the messengers had finished speaking, the Adelantado said that he was about to despatch the gold forming the royal fifths to Spain, and was going to pacify and subdue the provinces which he might find to be hostile. So he requested them to go as quickly as possible to consult the Governor on the proposal that had been made, returning to report what he said and whether he agreed. The messengers replied that they would do as he desired. When this was over the licentiate de la Gama, the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal and Diego de Fuenmayor, wishing to return to Los Reyes, requested the Adelantado to permit them to have an interview before they departed with Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, and Alonzo de Alvarado. The Adelantado gave leave and they visited the prisoners, and the captains told them secretly, that they must tell the Governor, Don Francisco Pizarro, not to pass over the affront that had been put upon him by imprisoning and ill-treating them. The conversations were not very long because there were many watching them, and the messengers returned to the Adelantado.

Before the licentiate Prado and the bachelor Guerrero he [the Adelantado] ordered the messengers to sign the papers containing what had been said and what they had heard from him, for the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro's consent and his own. This they did, and they and the Adelantado signed them before those who were present and in presence of the notary de Silva. This was on the 28th August, 1537.

CHAPTER XXII

How the messengers returned to Los Reyes, and how the Adelantado consulted his captains as to what should be done, and how he departed from Cuzco, taking HERNANDO PIZARRO with him as a prisoner.

THE licentiate de la Gama, the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, Diego de Fuenmayor, and the others who came, having negotiated with the Adelantado and settled matters with him, as has been related, now asked for permission to depart.

The Adelantado first informed the Governor that these gentlemen whom he had sent to Cuzco were about to return, and recounted what he had told them so that the Governor might understand that his only wish was to serve our Lord God and His Majesty, and hoped that the Governor would think it right to retire from the part of the territory which belonged to his (the Adelantado's) government, for the Governor had not received such treatment from him that he should wish to deprive him of half his province, nor did his (the Adelantado's) services deserve to be obscured. The Adelantado also wrote to Francisco de Godoy and to some others who were in the city of Los Reyes.

When permission had been given to the messengers they departed. As soon as they had gone the Adelantado sent to summon Rodrigo de Orgoñez and the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves, Vasco de Guevara, Cristóbal de Sotelo and the quartermaster Rodrigo Nuñez, Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, Gabriel de Rojas, Hernan Ponce de Leon, Juan de Guzman, the alcalde Mercado and others, and told them they had seen how Pizarro had sent messengers to treat about the bounds of the governments. He said further that he knew how ready Pizarro was to keep everything for himself without remembering how great a part he, Almagro, had played in placing him where he was. Then when he went to Spain, by his duplicity and promises he had led him to

hope that the favours His Majesty would grant to the two of them would be equal, but it appeared that he had not kept him in mind beyond getting him the wardenship of Tumbes. From Caxamarca he had sent his brother Hernando Pizarro with full powers so that, after he had kissed His Majesty's hands and informed him of his services, he might beg in his name for this government; and he made no reference to what he, Almagro, had done in the matter. Juan de Guzman who was present knows the story well.

Now (he continued) before I went with you to Chile Pizarro knew the extent of his government, and not only was he distressed at it, but he did all he could to induce me to undertake that expedition; and now you may believe me when I say that if he has returned to Lima it is with no other object than to raise a force to attack us.

Almagro then asked his followers what should be done, how they should set out from the city and what road they should take. Rodrigo Orgoñez said they ought with all speed, and without giving time for the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro to organize an army sufficiently powerful to prevent their moving without his permission, to set out at once from Cuzco and go and look for him; but first of all they should cut off the heads of Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado, for dead men tell no tales nor do they make complaints, whatever cause they may have. Diego de Alvarado did not agree with Orgoñez and advised that without the deaths of the men mentioned, they should endeavour to secure peace. Finally they agreed to march from Cuzco, and to take Hernando Pizarro with them as a prisoner (he was ill-treated with abuse and in other ways, and was taken about from one place to another, so that the Indians might see that it was Almagro and not he who was powerful. It is even said that he took a knife and cut off his beard declaring that he would either die or have his revenge). Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado were left in the city with a sufficient guard, in charge of Gabriel de Rojas. Those who had been with Alonzo de Alvarado at the bridge of Abancay, believing in the promises and offers of Almagro, had proffered

him their friendship and services but, as time went on, Almagro began to doubt their fealty, nor did they have entire confidence in him, thinking that he was not acting according to reason, nor for His Majesty's service.

Some of them wanted to escape to Los Reyes. The captain Pero Alvarez Holguin was the principal person who felt in this way, and had the strongest wish to join the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. Upwards of twenty friends who were of the same way of thinking, offered to set out from Cuzco with him. Pero Alvarez Holguin was a first cousin of Lorenzo de Aldana, and they shared a lodging together.

When Pero Alvarez and those with whom he had spoken were ready to leave for the city of Los Reyes, Lorenzo de Aldana, who had heard something from Pero Alvarez, but was himself on the side of the Adelantado, in order to turn Pero Alvarez Holguin from his purpose, urged upon him the many hardships he must undergo before he could reach the city of Los Reyes, as the whole country was at war, and that large bodies of Indians would attack and kill them.

This advice of Aldana had no effect in changing the mind of Pero Alvarez; on the contrary, he hastened his preparations and encouraged his friends to do the same. Aldana, seeing that his words were of no avail, went to the Adelantado and very secretly told him all about it, praying that no harm might be done to Pero Alvarez, but merely that he should be detained. The Adelantado promised that this should be done. Presently he sent for Pero Alvarez and complained of his conduct, that after the good treatment he had received, and his offer of friendship, he should induce others to leave the city and go to Los Reyes. He ordered him not to leave his lodgings, and to give his word of honour that he would not leave the city without his permission. Lorenzo de Aldana was annoyed with the Adelantado for making Pero Alvarez give his word of honour, and ordering him to be detained. Pero Alvarez for his part complained of Aldana for giving notice of his design, to the Adelantado. From that time, and for this cause, Lorenzo de Aldana did not feel the same true friendship for the Adelantado that he had done before this happened.

Seeing that it was now time to set out from the city, Orgoñez hurried the completion of the weapons and other equipments, and saw that all the men were ready to start. He arranged for Gabriel de Rojas to be left in charge of the city, and that Hernando Pizarro should be taken with them as a prisoner. So the arrangements were completed, the Adelantado leaving orders for Alonzo de Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro to be kept in a strong prison, with guards always watching them. When these affairs had been settled, the Adelantado spoke to the treasurer Alonzo Riquelme, telling him to take possession of all the gold and silver belonging to His Majesty that was in the city, as he wanted to carry it with him to place in security on the coast, that it might be embarked in the ships and sent to Spain. The treasurer said that this should be done.

Rodrigo Orgoñez assisted by the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Vasco de Guevara, Francisco de Chaves, and Cristóbal de Sotelo, hurried forward the preparations for departure. The Adelantado's force consisted of five hundred and fifty Spaniards, horse and foot, pikemen, arquebusmen and cross-bowmen. At the moment of starting from the city Lorenzo de Aldana told the Adelantado that he did not wish to go with him, and asked to be excused. The Adelantado replied that he could do as he liked. Pero Alvarez had to take a solemn oath that he would not leave the city. Hernando Pizarro was taken from his prison; and a great quantity of gold and silver belonging to him, and to Gonzalo Pizarro, was deposited in charge of Pedro de Candia, by order of Almagro.

The army of Almagro marched out of Cuzco in the middle of September, 1537, conveying with it all the King's gold, exceeding fifteen thousand *pesos*.

Great care was taken that all the troops should march in order, always having scouts ahead, and there is nothing more to relate but that they went on until they reached the plains and the pueblo of La Nasca. I will now relate how Alonzo de Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro escaped from prison.

CHAPTER XXIII

How the captains ALONZO DE ALVARADO and GONZALO PIZARRO contrived to escape from their prison, and captured the lieutenant GABRIEL DE ROJAS; and how they went to the city of Los Reyes.

WHEN the captains Alonzo de Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro were taken out of the prison, where they had been with Hernando Pizarro, they were shut up in a room, and one Anton de Almagro, who was said to be a brother of the Adelantado was placed in charge of them. He was told how anxious the Adelantado was that they should be kept close, and that he must keep a very good look-out, some Spaniards who had been selected for that purpose watching them in their quarters. Finding themselves thus imprisoned, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado consulted what would be the best means of escaping from the prison, and of finding their way to Los Reyes, to help the Governor against Almagro.

As men under detention, although the prison be very strong, look upon escape as easy, if they can only find the way, so these two captains looked out for some means of escape, resolved to attempt it, even at the peril of their lives. Alonzo de Alvarado said to Gonzalo Pizarro that Cueto and Jara, who had been servants and friends of Hernando Pizarro were in the city and proposed to communicate with them and induce them to raise a body of men to come and release them, for he had heard that they were resolute and determined. Gonzalo Pizarro answered that there was nothing he desired so much as to get out of that place, and that in addition to the two men mentioned there were some others in the city, relations and friends of his own, who would do all they could to release them, besides that Lorenzo de Aldana was still there. Gabriel de Rojas went about the city with great diligence seeing to what was necessary and looking out that great care was taken of the prisoners, entrusting that

duty to Anton de Almagro who neglected no precaution, but on the contrary passed half the night without sleep, watching the buildings where the captains, who were without arms or other means of attacking those who guarded them, were confined.

But the captains were determined to escape; there was a window in the north wall of the prison, on the outside mostly blocked up with clay, on the inside there were wooden bars across it in the form of a net, and they had nothing wherewith to cut them. After thinking over the matter they decided to put a candle they were supplied with at night to those bars and to burn them. However, they did not know whether this would be seen by those who were on watch, so as a last resource they decided to confide in the alguacil whose duty it was to post the night guard, whom he had to select to watch the place, and get him to see that there were no enemies of the Pizarros among them, and make it easy for Cueto and some others to accomplish their purpose.

They at once began their work on the bars in the window, while the alguacil did all he could to ensure their liberation. As Anton de Almagro had reported to Gabriel de Rojas that all was secure, he suspected nothing.

Jara and Cueto went about, inciting those who were inclined to the side of the Pizarros to pick quarrels with the men of Chile. As there are never wanting in affairs of this kind, seditious and quarrelsome men, they soon got together sixteen who were ready to help.

Seeing that the business was important, and that it behoved them to manage it with care, Cueto and Jara determined to give an account of it all to Lorenzo de Aldana, and this they promptly did, and sent one Diego Hernandez to tell the alguacil to place men who could be trusted at the window.

The alguacil reflected that Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado should be made aware that they would soon be free, and was able to tell them all about it, at which they were much rejoiced, and did not fail to burn the bars in the window.

When Cueto and Jara arrived at the lodging of Lorenzo de Aldana they knocked at the door, and, in great secrecy told

him what was happening. Lorenzo de Aldana said that they were joking, but they affirmed the truth of their statements with oaths, and at last he believed them. Taking his arms he went with them to the lodging of Gonzalo Pizarro, where fourteen men were assembled. Lorenzo de Aldana at once saw the importance of preventing the bridge over the Apurimac from being cut, lest Almagro, when he knew of the escape of the captains, should send in pursuit of them, and if the road were closed by there being no bridge across the river he might capture them. So Aldana sent two of the fourteen to guard the Apurimac bridge and take every precaution to see that no spy should be allowed to cross with the news. As soon as these men had been despatched, Aldana, considering that his action was right, set to work to summon those he knew would help them, and got together about thirty armed men, who, as secretly as possible, took up their stations in the house of Gonzalo Pizarro.

The name of the alguacil who placed the guards was Perez, and he stationed one Diego Hernandez at that window, for by that time the bars had been burnt through, and the captains understood that a party had been formed for them, and that they were free.

When it seemed to the watchman, Diego Hernandez, that the time had come and that the city was quiet, without a thought of any disturbance taking place, he began to sing as a signal for the prisoners to come out.

Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado came out through the window, without the guards under Anton de Almagro suspecting anything.

As the night was very dark no one saw them, and they went to the house of Gonzalo Pizarro, where their friends were assembled. They embraced them all, giving warm thanks to Lorenzo de Aldana and Pedro de Hinojosa. After some rejoicing, it was agreed between Gonzalo Pizarro, Alonzo de Alvarado, and Lorenzo de Aldana, that they should go and arrest Gabriel de Rojas, who was in his house and knew nothing of what had happened. So as to arrest him before any alarm could be raised, they took with them one Setiel,

who had been a servant of Hernando Pizarro, but, on coming to Cuzco, had left him, and for this reason was on good terms with Gabriel de Rojas, who believed him to be mistrustful of the affairs of the Pizarros. With this object they went to the house of Setiel and surrounded it that he might not elude them. One of them then cried out "Setiel, come out here, you are wanted."

Fearing there was some danger for him in being called out at that hour, he determined not to go.

As he did not appear, another called out, "Setiel, come out, Gonzalo Pizarro is calling for you and is here waiting for you." He replied, "How can Gonzalo Pizarro be here, when he is in prison." Gonzalo Pizarro, raising his voice that it might be known, said, "I am not in prison, Setiel, but free, therefore come out here." Setiel, seeing that there was no alternative, full of fear that they would kill him, came out. Gonzalo Pizarro then said to him, "Have no fear, Setiel, for men like you there is no occasion." He then told him to go to the house of Gabriel de Rojas and knock at the door, which he did, Gonzalo Pizarro, Alonzo de Alvarado, Lorenzo de Aldana, and Pedro de Hinojosa with the rest who had joined them, accompanying him. When they reached the door of Captain Gabriel de Rojas's house Setiel gave great knocks so that Gabriel de Rojas might hear and when he ordered the door to be opened he learnt what had happened. Fearing they would kill him he hid in the innermost part of his chamber, beneath the curtains or hangings of his bed. When they entered the room some of the men wanted to kill him, and it is said that they ill-treated him badly, laying hold of his beard, and there would have been an end of him had not Alonzo de Alvarado entered and, after some words with him, taken him out and told him he need have no fear, and that no harm would be done to him. He was taken to a strong prison, and the noise brought some people out to see what caused it. After this was done, the friends of Gonzalo Pizarro marched to where Anton de Almagro and his men were sleeping, little thinking that Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado were no longer in prison. As they approached, one, who had just

left Gabriel de Rojas in prison, cried out, "Come out, Anton de Almagro, for Gonzalo Pizarro calls you!" Almagro replied, "Get along with you, who come here talking nonsense, when he is so well guarded in prison, who is going to make me believe that Pizarro is calling me." Seeing his disbelief Gonzalo said, "Open, Anton de Almagro, for I am here and not in prison as you think."

When Almagro realized what had happened he was afraid and came out and begged for his life.

The orders were that no one should be killed, and Anton de Almagro was put into prison with Gabriel de Rojas.

The whole affair was sudden and unexpected, but as Almagro had taken with him all the men he trusted, there was no one left in the city who cared to take action against the escaped captains. Moreover, before Gabriel de Rojas was arrested, all the principal people who were likely to attempt to hinder what the escaped prisoners wanted to do, had been secured.

As soon as the captain Gabriel de Rojas had been locked up, Alonzo de Alvarado, Hinojosa, Aldana, and all their friends, posted themselves, so that if anyone came to the rescue, they could attack them, or find out why they came.

Gonzalo Pizarro, with others, went round to all the houses, collecting horses and mules for the journey to Los Reyes.

Pero Alvarez and Garcilasso de la Vega had gone out hunting the day before, and were not in the city.

When Pero Alvarez returned, he was invited by Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado to join them in their journey to Lima, as there he could do great service to His Majesty and to the Governor, but he would not go, saying that he had given his word to Almagro and could not break it. They repeated their request, but he could not be moved, so they decided to arrest him, treating him very mildly. When those who were able to go with them were assembled, they set out from Cuzco, without killing anyone, or doing any damage. After they had gone ten or twelve leagues, Pero Alvarez Holguin remained behind and returned to Cuzco.

CHAPTER XXIV

How the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO arrived at the province of Chincha, how he founded a city there which was named Almagro, and of the arrival of the messengers at the city of Los Reyes.

AFTER the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro had left the city of Cuzco in the order I have described, taking Hernando Pizarro with him as a prisoner with guards who kept such close watch over him that he was never able to escape from custody, the army advanced until it arrived at the province of the Lucanes. There was then a meeting of captains to decide what should be done next.

The opinions of lawyers were taken, but I do not know by what reasoning they came to such a conclusion. However the licentiate Prado and the bachelor Guerrero told the Adelantado many times, that they would sign their names to it, that he would be amply justified in cutting off the heads of Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro. If he had taken the advice of Orgoñez, the Adelantado would never have taken Hernando Pizarro out of Cuzco alive. But he did not want the blood of the brothers of his old companion to be shed to secure the boundary of his government. In Cuzco the accountant Juan de Guzman had advised that, as he had the ship in which he went to Chile, he ought to send Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro in it as prisoners to Spain with some person who would deliver them into the hands of His Majesty; and confiscate their estates for the royal treasury. This was the advice of a friend if he would have taken it, but he was incapable of receiving it or of being guided by him, and so it came to nothing at that time.

It seemed to the Adelantado, and to all his advisers, that they ought to make the coast secure, that no accident might prevent the despatches coming to him from His Majesty from reaching his hands, also that help of men and horses might

be received from Tierra Firme, New Spain, and other parts. So they agreed that they ought to build a city in the valley of Chinchá. With this intention they marched down into the valley of La Nasca, also called Caxamarca. Here they ill-treated the unhappy natives who, for their sins and those of their ancestors, deserved the heavy punishment which befell them, by our Lord God's permission, at the hands of the Spaniards. This is not the only region that has suffered persecution for this reason, for we know for certain and read it in histories that many pueblos, kingdoms and lordships were chastised at the hands of tyrants and wicked kings. They were hardly free from one army of Christians when another came. If the first showed little fear of God and no charity in causing the deaths of so many thousand natives, the others feared God less. The captains of Pizarro were so remiss that they never thought of checking or lifting a hand to prevent the evils thus inflicted, and Almagro and his followers thought of nothing but securing the government for themselves. The consequence was that the country from Lima to La Nasca lost the greater part of its inhabitants, what with deaths, some from hunger, others from being carried off in chains, and from many other cruelties inflicted on them, until the population was reduced to what it is to-day.

Having arrived in the valley of La Nasca, the Adelantado caused the most convenient place to be selected for his camp, and thence the Spaniards collected supplies at the expense of the poor natives, who were quiet and peaceful and who were filled with terror at being treated by the Christians with such inhumanity. Here Almagro rested for some days, being well supplied, by the soldiers, with the products of the coast valleys. Of the Indians from the *Sierra*, who carried the King's gold as well as the rest of the baggage, some were left dead on the roads, and the others had their feet so injured that they had no use of them for the rest of their lives.

After they had rested for some days, Almagro wanted to depart, when news came from Cuzco, sent by Gabriel de Rojas, of what had happened there, and of the escape of Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado. When Almagro

heard this he and most of the people he had brought from the city were enraged, and he regretted not having cut off the prisoners' heads before he started.

Rodrigo Orgoñez said that because the Adelantado would not be guided by his advice he would be ruined, for he had always said that those captains should be killed, as "A dead man cannot talk"; but he would not believe him and would now find it out, and he told him that he ought to kill Hernando Pizarro at once. Certainly Almagro was so enraged that, had it not been for the intercession of Diego de Alvarado, Hernando would have lost his life. They say that Hernando Pizarro was molested on the road, for Pantoja, the ensign general, on one occasion put a dagger to his breast and threatened to kill him.

Orders were immediately given to continue the march, with the purpose of founding a city in the Vale of Chincha, which had been already decided on, because some of the witnesses, in a statement which was taken down, said that the boundary reached to the valley of Lima, others as far as the city of Trujillo, others that it did not go beyond Mala. Many people who are living in those parts pay so little regard to their consciences that, when a governor wants to prove anything he can always find supporting witnesses and there is no one who does not know how to testify satisfactorily.

After a march of a few days Almagro reached Chincha, in the beginning of October 1537, and he signed a document before a notary setting forth the reasons why he thought right to found a city there and that it would be for the good of His Majesty's service, as it was within the limits of his jurisdiction and situated in the Vale of Chincha. It was named the city of Almagro. We do not find this city mentioned in the books of foundations, because it did not exist many days, and because it was founded within the limits of the province of Lima. As soon as the foundation was proclaimed, municipal officers were appointed, and a gibbet and pillory were set up. When this was settled, the Adelantado determined to consult his officers and other people as to what should be done next.

CHAPTER XXV

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO got troops ready in the City of the Kings, and of the arrival of the messengers who came from Cuzco.

WHEN he arrived at Lima the Governor Pizarro collected as large a force as he could, and provided the soldiers with weapons and other necessities for service in the field. He was very anxious for news from Cuzco, and to learn what the messengers had done whom he sent to find out what Almagro had decided, and whether he still intended to carry things to extremes, as he had done up to then. It was not long before the licentiate de la Gama, the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal and Diego de Fuenmayor arrived at Lima. It was on the 9th of October, 1537. The Governor made them welcome, asking them how they had succeeded, and what news there was of Captain Hernando Pizarro his brother. They gave him a long account of all that had occurred, how the Adelantado had sent the accountant Juan Guzman with some documents drawn up at Cuzco; how the licentiate Espinosa and the rest were to return for Almagro to confirm them afresh; in short they told the Governor everything that had happened to them. They also related the wishes and intentions of Almagro, how miserable Hernando Pizarro was, and his longing to be free, and how the captains Alonzo de Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro were suffering in the same way.

The Governor grieved at the imprisonment of his brothers and friends, and at once summoned the captains Francisco de Chaves, Felipe Gutierrez, Diego de Agüero, Diego de Urbina, Pedro de Vergara, Pedro de Castro, the bachelor Garcia Diaz Arias, the licentiate Carbajal, Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Don Pedro de Carbajal, Francisco de Godoy, and some others. He told them all that had happened at Cuzco; and the proceedings of the licentiates Espinosa and de la Gama and those who were with them, also what answers the Adelantado had given to them. He then told the meeting

that Almagro wished to leave the question in the hands of mediators for settlement, but at the same time he did all in his power to increase the numbers of his army, and to supply all the men with weapons before leaving Cuzco. The Governor then asked the meeting for advice. After consultation the general opinion was that peace and concord should be sought, and war avoided, and that the Governor, on his part, should nominate two gentlemen [as mediators] as Don Diego de Almagro had done, and they should decide upon the boundaries between the two governments. At the same time as large an army as possible should be got together and armed, ready for all emergencies. The Governor held this advice to be good, and he sent for the messengers who had lately arrived from Cuzco, together with Domingo de la Presa, and informed them that it would be acknowledged by public act that whatever was stated, explained, done or agreed to by the mediators appointed by the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro and himself would never be contravened by him; and this was witnessed by the licentiate Benito Suarez de Carbajal, Felipe Gutierrez, Francisco de Godoy, and Father Bobadilla.

I have already related how Alonzo de Alvarado, Gonzalo Pizarro, Lorenzo de Aldana, Hinojosa and the others left Cuzco with the intention of joining the Governor at Lima. As Almagro had gone, with his army, by way of the coastal plains, they determined to go by the mountains. They started off with such speed that some of the horses were jaded and broke down, and they ran the risk of being killed by the Indians, for many of them were still at war with the Spaniards.

They arrived at the province of Huarachiri, where the Indians, having news of their coming and of their small number, awaited them and a battle ensued in which the Spaniards had to use all their force to defend themselves against so many enemies as were before them. The Spaniards killed many Indians, but lost most of their baggage. The Indians had gone to fortify the upper parts of the mountains, where they had their principal dwellings, and kept flocking to the scene of the fighting. In order to pass, Gon-

zalo Pizarro, with thirty men, went by a track which appeared less rough than the others, and better suited for gaining the summit of the ridge, while Alvarado and the rest of the party placed themselves in ambush, in case the Indians should attack them. This was a good movement for the Spaniards, for otherwise they would have been in great danger of death. Gonzalo Pizarro gained the summit, and Alvarado sallied forth and did some execution among the Indians, and that night they slept in the dwellings at Huarachiri, and they determined to gain another height in the neighbourhood before dawn. As the way was rough and stony, the Christians carrying swords and shields went forward on foot, walking a little off the track, so as to avoid observation, and went on until they reached the summit, driving off some Indians who were there.

The rest of the Spaniards who had remained in the Tambo, then came out to join them. Alvarado, owing to the darkness, slipped and was precipitated down a declivity. If he had not held on tightly to a tree which happened to be there, he must have perished disastrously. A rope was lowered down to him and ready hands helped him to ascend. Advancing along the route for seven leagues, they came to a very strong rocky fastness where there were many armed Indians posted to see if they would pass. The Spaniards attacked them, climbing up the ascent. Three or four Spaniards were wounded, and some Indians were killed. Three or four loads of silver were found there.

From this rock the captains sent two Spaniards, named Cueto and Villanueva, to Lima to apprise the Governor and also to see whether Almagro had occupied the pass. Having despatched these messengers, the rest continued their march until they arrived at the valley of Pachacamac where they found grass for the horses. As they were all very tired they dismounted to rest, of which they were in much need. Cueto and Villanueva reached Lima and told the Governor all that had happened. He was much pleased at this and embraced those who had brought the good tidings, giving thanks to our Lord that He had thought it well to restore his brother

Gonzalo to him. He then ordered all the captains living in Lima to go out to welcome him, and he ordered Gomiel, his steward, to send good store of wine and refreshments to Pachacamac, where the fugitives remained for that day enjoying the green meadows and the pleasant banks of the river. Next day they set out for the city. The Governor came out to receive them with over five hundred men. They entered Lima and were lodged there, the Governor being well pleased to have with him his brother Gonzalo Pizarro, the captain Alonzo de Alvarado, Lorenzo de Aldana, and Moscoso, who were gentlemen, through whom His Majesty would be well served.

CHAPTER XXVI

How the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO sent ambassadors from the valley of Chincha to the City of the Kings to treat with the Governor about the terms of the arbitration; and about the decree which His Majesty gave to the Bishop of Tierra Firme.

AFTER the Adelantado had founded the city of Almagro in the valley of Chincha, and had appointed an alcalde and magistrates he called a meeting of his principal captains and other advisers—

General Rodrigo Orgoñez	Juan de Guzman (<i>accountant</i>)
Captain Juan de Sayavedra	Diego Nuñez de Mercado (<i>alcalde</i>)
„ Francisco de Chaves	Alonzo Riquelme (<i>treasurer</i>)
„ Cristóbal de Sotelo	Don Alonzo Enriquez
„ Vasco de Guevara	Alonzo de Montemayor
„ Diego de Alvarado	The licentiate Prado
„ Gomez de Alvarado	Bartolomé de Segovia (<i>archdeacon</i>)
	and others.

The Adelantado addressed them as follows:

You already know that, while we were in Cuzco, there arrived, on the part of the Governor, the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa and de la Gama, Diego de Fuenmayor, and the factor Illan

Suarez de Carbajal, and you also know what was there discussed, as you were present, and how, to justify my intention before the royal council, and to put an end to dissensions between us (it being clear that if a civil war breaks out in the kingdom, all will be ruined and destroyed in such a way that the country can never recover) I proposed to nominate two mediators, men that you recommend, and that Pizarro should nominate two others on his part, whomsoever he may choose, and that what they arranged and settled each would abide by until His Majesty ordered otherwise or until the Bishop of Tierra Firme should arrive to fix the boundary assigning to each of us what we are entitled to govern.

The gentlemen and captains present replied that what he had resolved upon appeared to be very proper and that envoys should be sent to the Governor, at the same time keeping the army ready for any event. The meeting then considered the selection of the two ambassadors, and after much deliberation it was unanimously agreed that Don Alonzo Enriquez and the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado should be recommended for the duty. The Adelantado approved the choice and gave full powers to Don Alonzo Enriquez and his colleague, to be accompanied by the accountant Juan de Guzman, the treasurer Manuel de Espinar, the overseer Juan de Turuégano, and *Padre* Bartolomé de Segovia. They were ordered to go to Lima and treat with the Governor on the points included in their powers. This done, he, the Adelantado, and the Governor would be agreed, the people at peace and His Majesty well served. The party then set out for Lima, also taking letters to other persons.

As I have often mentioned the decree by which the Bishop of Panama was enjoined by His Majesty to settle the boundary, it will be well that I should give the actual words of it, taken from the original. The reader should also know that this Bishop came from Tierra Firme, with the decree settling the boundaries, and arrived at Lima during the time that the Adelantado Diego de Almagro had gone to explore the interior of Chile, and he proposed to the Governor that he should go to Cuzco and wait there for the return of Almagro from Chile, in order to settle the boundary and avoid any disputes arising between them. The Governor would not

consent to his leaving Lima, and replied equivocally, and wanted to present him with jewels of silver and gold, which the good Bishop would on no account accept. Knowing that Don Francisco Pizarro wanted to govern the whole province, and that Almagro did not concur, the Bishop returned to Panama, leaving the decree, which is as follows:

DON CARLOS. To you the Reverend Father in Christ Don Fray Tomás de Berlanga, Bishop of Tierra Firme (called Castilla del Oro), of our Council, health and greeting. Be it known that We ordered certain agreements and capitulations to be made with Don Francisco Pizarro, respecting the conquest and settlement of the province of Peru. In the said capitulation we settled the limits of his government to commence from the place which the Indians call Tampula, and which the Christians have since named Santiago, to the pueblo of Chinchá, said to be a distance a little less than 200 leagues. Afterwards by another decree we extended, for the said Don Francisco Pizarro, the limits of his government for another 25 leagues from the said valley of Chinchá onwards, and finally, by another decree we prolonged it a further seventy leagues in such wise as to include the former 25 leagues. In all this our intention and will was that the said Don Francisco Pizarro should have within his government 270 leagues of coast from the pueblo of Tampula or Santiago, North and South on the same Meridian. Likewise, after the above, we granted to the Marshal Don Diego de Almagro another 200 leagues of government commencing where the 270 leagues government of the Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro ends. But as, owing to the coast line not running straight, there may be some disputes between Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro, over the measurement and reckoning of the said leagues, by which our service may suffer, and the said province may receive injury, when the matter was discussed by our Council of the Indies, it was decided that this our letter should be sent to you. We, therefore order and charge you to have the latitude and degrees observed to fix the position of the said place called Tampula or Santiago. That being done you are to measure on a Meridian, North to South, the said 270 leagues without counting the sinuosities of the coast, observing the leagues of land comprised thereby according to the number of leagues usually assigned to a degree North to South, and where, after taking the latitude the degrees are completed, comprising the 270 leagues, that spot shall be fixed as the end of the government of Don Francisco

Pizarro and he shall be governor therein of all the land which may lie to the east and west [of the line] between the two places where the 270 leagues begin and end measured along the meridian. From that point the government of Don Diego de Almagro is to commence, extending for 200 leagues, to be counted, measured and declared in the same way. We further command the said Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro that, when you have declared the boundary, each one of them is to abide by the limits of his government and not to usurp any part of the territory of the other, on pain of deprivation of his government for him who should do the contrary. Given at Madrid the 31st day of May 1537¹.

I the QUEEN

I JUAN VASQUEZ DE MOLINA, Secretary to his Cesarean and Catholic Majesty, written by command.

The Count Don GARCI MANRIQUE	The licentiate GUTIERREZ
Dr BELTRAN	VELASQUEZ
Dr SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL	<i>Registered</i>
Dr BERNAL	JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA, for the Chancellor.

This then is the decree which the King gave to the Bishop Don Fray Tomás de Berlanga, for settling the boundary; and if they had not departed from what His Majesty ordered, there would have been no disputes and battles between them. But the Governors, if the decree did not go in their favour, always started obstacles or sought for excuses so false that when wise men treated of the matter they soon saw their malice. You may believe one thing. The ambition to rule, on the part of these two governors was so great, and so earnest was the desire of each one in his pretensions to the government of Cuzco, that little was needed to show their intention of shaping things as they desired. Each one constituted himself judge and asked the pilots whether Cuzco fell within his limits.

¹ Santiago in 1° 30' N. There were 17½ leagues in a degree, says Herrera. In 270 leagues 15½ degrees. The pilots placed the boundary in 14° S., but it is really much further south. Cuzco is in 13° 30' S. well within Pizarro's province.

CHAPTER XXVII

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO stationed thirty horsemen at Mala with a captain, so that if any messengers should come on the part of ALMAGRO they might be captured; and how those sent by ALMAGRO were made prisoners there, and what else happened.

THAT he might be advised of the approach of Almagro, if he should come to him, Pizarro ordered Alonzo Alvarez to station himself in the valley of Mala with thirty horsemen, and take care to see if any letters for the Adelantado, from residents in Lima, or others, came that way; and if so, he was to seize them and let none pass, and should messengers come from Almagro he was not to let them pass until he had read the despatches they carried, and must then report to him fully. With these orders from the Governor, Alonzo Alvarez and his mounted men set out and were in Mala many days, turning out to scour the country round, every day. Don Alonzo Enriquez and the accountant Juan de Guzman, with the others sent by the Adelantado to Lima, came near Mala, where Pizarro's scouts were placed, and set out towards them, for as it was thought certain that the Adelantado would have to descend to the plains, it seemed to them that he must have got there by then; so Alonzo Alvarez, who had his scouts out, and who had heard of the others' approach from the Indians, rode forward fully armed with all his followers and met them a short half league from the pueblo where they were halted. On meeting they saluted each other courteously, and the accountant Juan de Guzman said, "What lucky meeting is this, Sir, at this place?" Alvarez answered, "We came out to receive you as soon as we knew of your approach." Don Alonzo Enriquez had not liked their coming at all. He was silent, believing they had come to kill him. Juan de Guzman, observing his plight, said to him, "Put a good face on it, and do not show weakness even if we are going to be killed."

Don Alonzo Enriquez answered, "I am going to be killed within half an hour, and you want me to look pleasant?" While saying this they arrived at the lodgings at Mala, where they all dismounted. The men of Chile clearly suspected that they were to be arrested, and they waited to see what Alonzo Alvarez would do. They saw presently that they were surrounded so that none of them could escape. Alonzo Alvarez then said, "Gentlemen, give up your arms, for such is required for the service of God and His Majesty." Diego Nuñez de Mercado answered, "Why should we give up our arms? We are not willing to do so. For myself I say that I will not give mine up to any of your men, I would rather deliver them to a negro." Don Alonzo Enriquez and Juan de Guzman, seeing that there was nothing to be gained by resistance, turning to the alcalde Mercado, said that he had better give up his arms, willy-nilly. Nothing was meant by it, since the Governor Pizarro ordered it, and as they were only five they could not defend themselves against thirty. Then they all took off their swords and daggers, and with their own hands threw them towards a stable that was near. Alonzo Alvarez, when he saw that they were disarmed, asked if they had any despatches. Don Alonzo Enriquez and Mercado replied, "The despatches are in charge of Juan de Guzman. Ask him for them and he will give them to you." Then they told Juan de Guzman to give them up. He said, "There they are in that trunk. I will not give them to you because among them there are letters and despatches for the Emperor. As you say that your Governor has given the order, take them and do what you like with them." Alonzo Alvarez went straight to the trunk and unfastened it. In spite of the protests of Don Alonzo Enriquez, Mercado, and Guzman he took out all the letters it contained. Juan de Guzman turned to the notary Silva and said, "Bear witness to what has been done that His Majesty may know the force that has been used against us and that, travelling along his high road, they came out against us upon it, and take from us the despatches we are carrying." Alonzo Alvarez, as soon as he had got possession of the despatches and letters that were in the trunk, told

the messengers that the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro had instructed him, in the orders he received, that if any gold should come, he was to take it to Lima that the royal officers might register it, so that the King should not lose his fifths. Juan de Guzman then took out some trinkets and a cup marked for its fifth and said, "This is the gold we bring, look at it and see for yourself that it does not need to be marked." Alonzo Alvarez when he saw that it was true, and that they brought no gold to be marked, replied that he forgot to say that he was ordered to take the marked as well as the unmarked. Juan de Guzman answered, "Then it is clear to me that you come here to rob." One Cristóbal Pizarro who was present said, "It is you who are the robbers and not us." Don Alonzo Enriquez, feeling that such remarks were improper and that Cristóbal Pizarro was going too far, said to him, "Do you know to whom you are speaking? It is the accountant Juan de Guzman." Pizarro replied, "I know you well and him too, and I swear to God if you say another word I will give him a slash across the face and you another." Don Alonzo Enriquez escaping through the door of the room said, "Give him one, for you will not do it to me." Alonzo Alvarez told Cristóbal Pizarro to hold his tongue, and, withdrawing himself a little apart from the men of Chile he sent off the despatches he had captured to Don Francisco Pizarro, reporting also to him the arrival of the envoys, and who they were.

In Lima the Governor and all his captains and advisers were much pleased. In this despatch they say that there was a "decree" of the Adelantado ordering that by virtue of it, justice should be executed in the same city by the treasurer Manuel de Espinar and the overseer Turuégano, and that they were to require the Governor to leave the city. I was assured of this by the Bishop Don Garcia Diaz Arias who was then chaplain to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. The accountant Juan de Guzman denied that he ever brought anything of the sort or that the Adelantado ever ordered it. The truth was that the Adelantado wrote several letters to impress on the minds of some at Lima that he could reward them if they would be his friends, that the limits of his government in-

cluded the city of Lima, and he sent powers to act, to the said treasurer and overseer, jointly with Don Alonzo Enriquez and Juan de Guzman, and the others who came with them. But many things which the people stated and affirmed were contrary to the truth.

After the Governor had seen the despatches and letters which his officer had taken from the envoys he called a meeting of his principal captains and advisers—

ALONZO DE ALVARADO	DON PEDRO PUERTOCARRERO
GONZALO PIZARRO	DON PEDRO DE PORTUGAL
FRANCISCO DE CHAVES	PEDRO DE HINOJOSA
DIEGO DE AGÜERO	<i>Padre</i> GARCIA DIAZ ARIAS
DIEGO DE URBINA	The licentiate CARBAJAL
RODRIGO DE VERGARA	ILLAN SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL the factor
FELIPE GUTIERREZ	the licentiate DE LA GAMA and others
LORENZO DE ALDANA	

He showed them that despatch which had been taken from the envoys of Almagro. To some it seemed that it would be well to order the despatches to be returned, for when those whom the Governor had sent arrived at Cuzco, they received no molestation. Others said no, that they ought to be sent to His Majesty.

The Governor, after he had heard the opinions of his officers, agreed with them that the letters, missives, and despatches to various persons should remain in his possession without being delivered to those to whom they were addressed, and that the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal should go to meet the envoys with excuses, telling them that their treatment was not by the Governor's orders, nor did he approve of the seizure of the despatch they were carrying; moreover, they were to continue their journey at once, and be told that the Governor was glad to know that it was they who were coming.

This having been decided, the factor left Lima with two mule loads of wine, jam, and other refreshments.

In order that the arrival of the envoys might not cause any dissensions in the city, and that the words of any of them might not corrupt the soldiers, nor divert these from giving

the support with their persons, which they were bound to afford, the Governor decided, with the consent and approval of the captains, to proceed from the city, accompanied by no more than twenty horsemen.

Returning to the envoys of Almagro, after the despatches had been taken from them, their horses also were seized, and they were provided with mules for their journey.

They keenly resented the assault made upon them and the seizure of what they carried, for they were envoys, and as such, in all parts are especially guarded against annoyance. Alonzo Alvarez had told them to get ready as they were about to start for Lima, and that night they slept at Chilca.

They managed so well that, without its being known, they wrote a letter to the Adelantado describing how they had been treated. After it was written they gave it to an Indian of Nicaragua, a servant of Father Segovia, to take to the city of Almagro and give it to the Adelantado, and the Indian promised to deliver it with all speed. Leaving Chilca they went on towards Lima and presently they saw two horsemen approaching, who proved to be the factor and his servant. When they met, the factor gave the envoys the Governor's message; and, on the beasts laden with refreshments arriving, they partook and rejoiced. Then they went on to Pachacamac, where a message came from the Governor that they were to go no further that day. While there Francisco de Godoy and Hernan Ponce de Leon arrived, having left the city with the Governor, who was now waiting for them at the Acequia, a little more than a league from Lima. Francisco de Godoy and Hernan Ponce de Leon told the envoys that the Governor desired friendship and concord with the Adelantado, and could brook no less, seeing how they had been dear to each other for so many years. After these words, and others of the same tenor, they all arrived at the Acequia, where the Governor made the envoys welcome, showing great pleasure at their coming. Calling Juan de Guzman he took him into his tent and said: "What a folly was committed by the Adelantado in seizing the city of Cuzco by force of arms and imprisoning my brothers." Juan de Guzman replied that the Adelantado

stated that the city of Cuzco was within the limits of his government and province of New Toledo which had been entrusted to him by His Majesty. He had requested Hernando Pizarro and the cabildo to receive him as Governor, and they would not do so, although the pilots said that, locating his government by the line of the meridian, that city fell within the province of New Toledo, and that Almagro had entered Cuzco as a city within his jurisdiction. Presently the treasurer Espinar and the overseer Turuégano came, and discussed with Don Alonzo Enriquez and with the accountant Juan de Guzman, and the others who had come, what they wished to negotiate with the Governor Pizarro.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Which treats of the agreement made between the envoys of the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO and the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO, and of their return to Chincha.

WHEN the people in Lima heard that the Adelantado had made a settlement and founded another city within the boundaries of the jurisdiction of that city, and within their own *repartimientos*, they were very angry and declared that they would defend their property, for it was intolerable that Almagro should think of giving their Indians to his own followers; and a great tumult arose in the city. So together with the royal officers of the province of New Toledo they agreed to consider what should be done, and calling in a notary they passed an ordinance which was as follows:

In the valley of Lima, the tenth day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1537, being present

the Governor DON FRANCISCO	DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ
PIZARRO	JUAN DE GUZMAN (<i>accountant</i>)
MANUEL DE ESPINAR (<i>treasurer</i>)	DIEGO NUÑEZ DE MERCADO
JUAN TURUÉGANO (<i>overseer</i>)	Padre BARTOLOMÉ DE SEGOVIA,

they said that, as in the city of Cuzco, a certain pact was made by which each Governor should nominate two mediators in order that, having seen the royal decrees and grants of His Majesty, and also the decree addressed to the Bishop of Panama, Don Fray Tomás de Berlanga, and after receiving the evidence of the most expert pilots, they should declare and locate the boundary between the two governments, Don Alonzo Enriquez and Diego Nuñez de Mercado were nominated on behalf of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro to work with the two others nominated by the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, and that all four should take the evidence of the most expert and intelligent pilots as to the position of the boundary as provided in the instructions to the Bishop of Tierra Firme; and what they declare the said Governor and Adelantado will accept, and hold it to be settled until His Majesty shall order otherwise. This they agree to in the name of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, and they will stand by this, if necessary with their persons and estates. As the powers given them do not appear to be so full as is desirable; they will bring the confirmation of the nominations made by the Adelantado and if the mediators should not agree, they shall have especial power to name another mediator to assist them, so that what the majority declares may be accepted. To this they agree by virtue of the powers entrusted to them.

The Governor, Don Francisco Pizarro, said that to prevent disputes and anger that might arise out of the coming debates respecting the position of the boundary, he thought it advisable to nominate on his behalf the two other mediators so that, jointly with those nominated by the Adelantado, in conformity with the above, they might take the evidence of the best instructed pilots as to the position of the boundary of the two governments, that what they say and assert would be kept to and observed until His Majesty should otherwise order, and to secure compliance, the said mediators may use all the pressure that may seem to them appropriate; and also if they did not agree, they might choose two other trustworthy persons to assist and be present at the investigation which was ordered to be made. To prevent delay he said that, on his part, he would nominate Fray Juan de Olias, Provincial of the Dominicans, and Francisco de Chaves, to whom he would give powers in accordance with the decree of His Majesty

addressed to the Bishop of Panama, to consult with the pilots who are found to be most able and competent, so that, in agreement with their evidence, they may declare the position of the boundary.

It seems to me that each Governor wished it to be understood that he had right on his side, and desired only peace and agreement, but the intention of each was no other than that if the decision should not be to his taste or satisfaction he would strive to hold the government of the province at the point of the lance, and would not be content to govern with peace and amity between them a region extending from the Straits of Magellan to Antioquia, a distance of more than eighteen hundred leagues, there being, at that time, no other Governor than these two in all that vast territory.

As soon as the nominations had been made by those representing Almagro, and by the Governor on his own behalf, they conferred as to where would be a convenient place for the mediators to meet, somewhere between Chinchá and Lima.

They settled that the place where the mediators should remain and examine the evidence of the pilots, and come to their conclusions respecting the boundary, should be Mala.

An agreement was signed, promising that the mediators and pilots should be quite free, without any interference or molestation, or promises of money or anything else. When this agreement had been made the Governor said to the Adelantado's envoys that they must engage, in their persons and estates, that Almagro, when he knew of the settlement, would not leave Chinchá until the end of fifteen days, Don Francisco Pizarro making the same promise as regards the City of the Kings.

All these things being settled between the Governor and the Adelantado's envoys, without hesitation, they signed the documents before a notary on 10th October 1537.

CHAPTER XXIX

How DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ and the alcalde DIEGO NUÑEZ DE MERCADO with the officials of the province of New Toledo returned to the Adelantado in the city of Almagro, and how the Governor sent the factor ILLAN SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL and the Padre BOBADILLA to negotiate the peace.

AFTER the conferences on the boundary between the Governor and the envoys from Almagro, Don Alonzo Enriquez, the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado and their colleagues resolved to return to Chinchá, to give an account of their mission. Having received permission from the Governor they set out, taking with them many letters from captains to the Adelantado begging him to agree with the Governor, for that there was no just cause of difference between them, and having been such close friends before, there was no reason why wars and dissensions should arise between them, to the detriment of the service of God our Lord and of His Majesty, while the kingdom would be ruined, and exhausted, and become depopulated.

As soon as they were gone the Governor, in accord with his captains, resolved to send envoys to the valley of Chinchá, to plead with the Adelantado that the meeting of the mediators might be hastened, and to request that past differences should be forgotten, and that Hernando Pizarro should be liberated. To treat of these and other things the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal and the *Padre* Bobadilla (of the Order of our Lady of Mercy) were despatched. In the city weapons were got ready and troops were assembled, on the plea that the settlement they required was that Almagro should give up the city of Cuzco and retire to his own government. For Almagro contended that his boundary reached the valley of Lima, and there were not wanting those who told Pizarro that the boundary lay fifty leagues beyond Cuzco¹.

¹ This is correct; 270 leagues from Santiago is 50 leagues south of Cuzco.

Returning to Almagro's envoys, they arrived at Chincha at a time when the Adelantado was much annoyed at the news that they had been arrested at Mala. He was in full accord with his captains. He was delighted at the return of his envoys, and asked how they had been received, and what had been agreed with the Governor. They told him all that had passed, and delivered to him the documents and letters to which they had given assent, and he gave his approval. A few days afterwards the Provincial Fray Francisco de Bobadilla arrived, with the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal. They were welcomed by the Adelantado, who said to them that he resented the arrest and rough treatment his envoys had received, and the seizure of the despatch they carried. The factor and Bobadilla made excuses, saying that the Governor had not ordered Alonzo Alvarez to behave in that way, and begged that he would let that, and all that had gone before, be set aside, and come to an agreement over the matter in hand.

They had come by order of the Governor, hoping that he would be pleased now to free Hernando Pizarro from the imprisonment in which he was kept, and that the pilots and mediators might meet to decide what was just; their decision to be observed until His Majesty should order otherwise. The Adelantado replied that to let Hernando Pizarro out of prison would be to light the flames of war, and peace would never be reached. On that account he could not at present consent to it. Moreover, a decision would soon be given about these negotiations. Meanwhile, although Hernando Pizarro was detained, his person would receive no harm.

Having taken counsel with Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, and the captains Rodrigo Orgoñez, Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves, Vasco de Guevara, Cristóbal de Sotelo and others, it seemed to them that to place the matter in the hands of mediators would cause delay, and nothing would be settled. It would be better to appoint one judge as arbitrator who would pronounce sentence, and compel them, by the powers that would be given to him, to respect and observe his decision. The Adelantado thought well of this advice and,

sending for a notary he had the following document (copied word for word from the original) drawn up.

In the city of Almagro, on the 19th of October 1537, the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro having examined what was arranged and settled with the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro about the limits of their respective governments, and it having been agreed that each side should appoint mediators to consult with pilots and then decide upon the boundary in conformity with His Majesty's decree addressed to the Bishop of Tierra Firme according to the documents signed in the valley of Lima, it is now thought that this plan would cause great delay, to the injury of His Majesty's service and the settlement and pacification of the provinces; for owing to difference of opinion among the mediators there must be long delays, as well as in the nomination of the mediators and in the collection of evidence by the pilots which must be done anew. It was also to be remembered that the land is full of Spaniards, in both the provinces, and that in consequence of such delays they would not be able to support themselves without the exhaustion and destruction of the whole kingdom, especially in the places where Spaniards chiefly reside. The Adelantado desires to justify his intentions and acts, that God our Lord may be served and the country be of use to His Majesty. Having discussed the matter with many gentlemen, religious persons, and lawyers, in order to arrive at the most useful and best decision respecting this question, so as to secure peace, concord, and brotherly feeling between the two Governors, for his part his conclusion is that there should be one judge nominated and chosen by both sides, the chosen judge being known as zealous for the service of God and of His Majesty, as well as for the public good, to whom full powers, such as the law allows, should be given so that all the questions and dissensions which may arise concerning the declaration of the boundary shall be left in his hands, after consultation with the pilots on both sides.... He proposes to nominate as judge the very reverend *Padre* Fray Francisco de Bobadilla, Provincial of the Order of our Lady of Mercy of the Indies and the Atlantic seaboard, being, as he is, zealous in the service of God and of His Majesty, of good life and conscientious, learned, and with much experience in negotiations, and who came here, nominated by the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, to promote the agreement, friendship and brotherhood which had always existed.

All this he spoke in the presence of the said Provincial and

the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, of Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, of the captain Rodrigo Orgoñez, of the licentiate Prado, of the treasurer Manuel de Espinar, and of others who were asked to be witnesses thereof.

CHAPTER XXX

How the Provincial BOBADILLA and the Factor returned to the City of the Kings and how the Governor, having learnt the Adelantado's views by the papers, appointed the same Provincial BOBADILLA as Judge.

THESE things having happened as has been related, Almagro said to the Provincial Bobadilla that, as he had placed such important business in his hands, he asked of him that, without showing any partiality, he would prove himself to be so straight and such a friend of truth and justice that His Majesty, when he knows what has been done, would consider himself to have been so served that he can approve and confirm it. The Provincial replied that, knowing the desire of the Adelantado that things should end well and dissensions be avoided, he felt obliged to pray God fervently that he may be given such grace that, through his means, both sides would be satisfied and peace established. And that, should he undertake the investigation of the affair, no partiality or interest whatever would suffice to move him one point from the truth. The Adelantado rejoiced to find him with such intentions, and at once ordered him and the factor to prepare for their return journey to the City of the Kings, urging them to give effect to and conclude the business. With a view to give himself more justification and further to convince the Governor, he approved the nomination of the mediators Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman and the alcalde Diego Nuñez that, jointly with Diego de Alvarado, and a third mediator named by the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, in addition to those already selected, they might make the partition in the way

already arranged and, if necessary, he again named and appointed them as such mediators and assessors. This declaration was made by the Adelantado before Francisco Arias. He added that if the Governor did not wish to have three mediators on each side there should be two, for whose appointment he had already given sufficient powers. All these proposals were made by the Adelantado so that, in case the Governor did not approve of the Provincial Bobadilla being sole judge, the mediators on both sides being named they might at once proceed with their duties. Rodrigo Orgoñez was far from being satisfied at the Adelantado nominating the Provincial to be sole judge, for he declared that Pizarro would suborn and allure the Provincial to give the sentence in his favour. Almagro told him that he ought not to entertain such suspicions of a religious and learned man, who was well acquainted with the disputes between himself and the Governor, and he at once ordered his secretary Sosa to write to the Governor in reply to his letters, and he also caused very gracious letters to be written to the other captains who were in Lima offering to do all he could for them as excellent friends and old comrades, should matters come to a satisfactory conclusion, and as they were gentlemen he knew they would be faithful to the Governor in advising what they knew to be just and would tend towards peace and friendship among them all.

With this despatch the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal and the Provincial Fray Francisco de Bobadilla set out from the Vale of Chincha on their return journey to Lima.

At this time the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro had appointed his brother Gonzalo Pizarro to be his Captain-General, and Alonzo de Alvarado to be General of cavalry.

The Provincial Fray Francisco de Bobadilla and the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal made such haste that they were soon near the City of the Kings. When he knew of their approach, the Governor, accompanied by a few friends, came out into the valley of Lima to the place where he had first come to terms with the envoys of Almagro; and, as soon as the Provincial and factor arrived there, he examined the documents

and letters of the Adelantado, and asked about his brother Hernando Pizarro. They replied that he was well, but very anxious to see him and impatient at his long detention.

When Pizarro heard of the Adelantado's wish that the negotiations should be brought to an end without delay he was well pleased and, having taken the opinions of his captains and principal officers, he made a reply before a notary, which I have transcribed word for word from the register.

In the valley of Lima, on the 25th October. After the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro had seen the documents which had been prepared at Chinchá about the plan for reaching an agreement between himself and the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, and giving the first place, as he always has done, to the service of God and His Majesty and the preservation of peace in a country he loves and cares for as a servant of the King, he states that in order to avoid delays, for which time does not suffice and which are very injurious to the country, and in order that all may be settled and quieted, and that the people attached to each party may be employed in the pacification of the realm, which is in a state of war, by bringing the natives to the service of His Majesty, he agrees to the step taken because he holds it to be a quicker and better way that the Provincial Fray Francisco de Bobadilla should be the judge of these differences respecting the boundary, in conformity with the order of His Majesty. For this object he is prepared to issue to him the necessary powers without delay, as the Adelantado proposes, and as is agreed on both sides.

It remains to relate that Almagro gave the powers to certain persons who, on his behalf, could nominate the Provincial Fray Francisco de Bobadilla; these came and were present on the occasion we have referred to above. As this is a notable document I give it in full, copied from the original, as follows :

Know all who may see this that I Don Francisco Pizarro, Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General in these kingdoms of New Castile for His Majesty on one part, and we the accountant Juan de Guzman and the treasurer Manuel de Espinar, Juan Turuégano overseer, officials of His Majesty in the new kingdom of Toledo, and the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado, and Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, and Bartolomé de Segovia in the name of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro Governor and

Captain-General of the new kingdom of Toledo for His Majesty and by virtue of the powers we hold from him, declare as follows.

[Here follow the powers given by Almagro to his representatives to nominate Bobadilla as arbitrating Judge, and binding the Adelantado to abide by his decision; Pizarro making a similar declaration:] Signed in the valley of Lima October 25th 1537.

Present: ILLAN SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL (<i>factor</i>)	} witnesses
and the licentiate Carbajal	
HERMAN PONCE DE LEON (<i>captain</i>)	
ANTONIO DE LA GAMA (<i>licentiate</i>)	

Signed by FRANCISCO PIZARRO

ALONZO ENRIQUEZ	} for Almagro
DIEGO NUÑEZ DE MERCADO	
JUAN DE GUZMAN	
BARTOLOMÉ DE SEGOVIA	
JUAN DE TURUÉGANO	
MANUEL DE ESPINAR	

Passed before me DIEGO¹ DE LA PRESA.

CHAPTER XXXI

How the Provincial was accepted as Judge to arbitrate on the boundary of the governments; and of the departure from Lima of the Adelantado DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

THE reader will have seen the powers that were entrusted, by both Governors, to the Provincial Bobadilla who was not present, in the valley of Lima, at the time of the nomination, but in the valley of Mala. The Governor Pizarro ordered Domingo de la Presa, notary, to go to Mala with the powers, that the Provincial might be able to use them. Arriving at Mala on the 27th of October, Domingo de la Presa read the document to the Provincial enabling him to act, by agreement

¹ Probably an error for Domingo.

of the two Governors. Having seen the powers Bobadilla said that as it was a matter that concerned the service of God and His Majesty, and was for the good of these kingdoms, and to avoid the great evils that might arise from the disagreement of the two Governors and their captains and troops, their armies being on the point of open war, he held it to be well that he should accept the powers, by means of which he might more readily decide according to justice. Seeing that he had accepted the powers committed to him, the Provincial was not in a position to induce the Governors, on their parts, to desist from their efforts to prepare their arms and increase their armies.

But neither party placed any hope in the decision which the Provincial Bobadilla was to give, and should it be to its detriment or against its wishes, each intended to ignore it and oppose it by arms, and by the cruelty of war to eject its enemy from the province, and the victor would occupy it. It especially rankled in the mind of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro because it was he who had peopled Cuzco, though he did not dare to proclaim what he intended until his brother Hernando was released from prison.

When the Adelantado became aware of the steps taken by the Governor, and that he had given the powers as Judge in the Arbitration to the Provincial Fray Francisco de Bobadilla, who was in Mala, in order that as Arbitrator he should point out the boundaries of the two governments, and in order that witnesses should be furnished and suitable action taken, he, the Adelantado, appointed Barragan to help the Provincial on his behalf, and for that he gave him full powers.

Believing that the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro intended soon to leave Lima, he ordered his captains and soldiers to be warned, so as not to allow the approach of Pizarro to cause them any alarm or disturbance. Barragan arrived and presented the commission he had received as representing Almagro. The first thing he asked of the Provincial was, that the matter being of such importance, the notary Domingo de la Presa should not draw up the statements and acts that would be required alone, but that Silva, the notary of Almagro,

should also assist, so that on the faith of two notaries the documents might command the more confidence.

The Provincial answered that he must swear, on the sign of the Cross, whether what he asked was intended to cast suspicion on Domingo de la Presa or on the person of the Provincial himself. Juan Rodriguez Barragan swore that he had no such suspicion either of the Provincial himself or of the notary. The Provincial then said that he would admit the documents that would be required, as written by Domingo de la Presa on the part of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, and by Alonzo de Silva on the part of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. He then ordered them to be quick, and work together in preparing the documents required in the cause; and directed them to proceed with the business. All this is taken word for word from the records.

Many were the envoys that came from one party or the other, and the letters which arrived for the Provincial Bobadilla, nor were the bribes offered to him by either Governor of small value. Whether he accepted them or not God only knows, and I will not judge of his intention, nor, without sufficient information, will I impute any fault to him. I will affirm nothing but that I know his inclination always was to please Don Francisco Pizarro. Summoning the notaries before him, he issued his command that the Governors, in order that they might appear before him in safety, should give such hostages as he should select.

CHAPTER XXXII

How the Provincial, Fr. FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA, ordered the Governors to appear before him that he might understand what was desired by them; and what happened.

THE Provincial, Fray Francisco de Bobadilla, and the mediators remained at Mala until the enquiry was concluded; because that valley was midway between those of Lima and Chincha.

The representatives of the Governors came there, in virtue of their powers, and the Provincial, having sent for the notaries, caused the following document to be drawn up:

In the town of Mala, on the 28th of October, the Judge Arbitrator Fray Francisco de Bobadilla states: that, inasmuch as for the determination and conclusion of this cause it is desirable that the Governors should come to the said place to have an interview with him, each one with twelve mounted men, and in order that their persons may be secure against the occurrence of any quarrel or disturbance between the parties, each one should provide hostages, in the keeping of an officer of the other side, a child and two gentlemen whom he may select, and that each party should send orders to this effect to the Governors; that as regards D. Francisco Pizarro, he should be ordered within five days to surrender his daughter Doña Francisca, Francisco de Chaves and Don Pedro de Portugal as hostages; and that Almagro within the same period should send his son Don Diego, Diego de Alvarado and Gomez de Alvarado likewise to be hostages; further that on the morrow they should set out from Chinchá and from Lima and come to meet him, each with twelve mounted men, bringing His Majesty's decrees and cédulas dealing with the demarcation of the governments, and the pilots who have given evidence, in order that after seeing each party and learning the particulars of the case he may give a fair judgment.

At this time there arrived at Mala, before the Provincial, Hernando Gonzalez, a citizen of Lima, and presented an authority from the Governor to act as his representative in this affair.

The representatives said that although the Governors had to appear in person at Mala, and give the hostages demanded, yet their powers entitled them to present the Royal Decrees derived from the governments as well as the one His Majesty had entrusted to the Bishop of Tierra Firme.

The Provincial ordered them to convey his orders to the Governors, and afterwards there would be time to present the said documents.

These are the documents issued by Bobadilla, ordering the two Governors to appear before him.

[The two lengthy documents are, in substance, the same as the one already transcribed.]

Two other orders were issued by the Provincial, forbidding the captains to leave the places where they were stationed with the troops. [These documents are dated 28th October, 1537.]

CHAPTER XXXIII

How the Provincial gave two other orders touching the personal attendance of the Governors, and what happened at Lima and Chincha.

[HERE follow the documents issued by Bobadilla. The first of these ordered Gonzalo Pizarro and the other captains of the Governor not to leave Lima on pain of a fine of 10,000 *pesos de oro*, to be paid into the royal treasury, and a penalty of 200,000 *pesos de oro*, or deprivation of office, against the Governor in case of his contravening the conditions laid down. This is dated 9th November¹, 1537. A similar order was sent to the Adelantado Almagro, and to Rodrigo Orgoñez and the other captains of Almagro's army.]

Alonzo de Silva was sent with one order to Chincha, to notify Almagro, and Domingo de la Presa went with the other to Pizarro at Lima. The Adelantado replied that the order would be obeyed. But it never seemed good to Rodrigo Orgoñez who declared that Bobadilla had been corrupted by Pizarro with gold and silver, and that it would be much wiser to cut off Hernando Pizarro's head and march against the Governor without waiting for the award. Diego de Alvarado desired peace and did not suspect the Pizarros, holding that it was far better for Almagro to retain his government in the way arranged with the Provincial, than to proceed to the shedding of blood. He also said that if he found that the Judge was not impartial, he would not submit to his judgment. Close guard was set upon Hernando Pizarro and the soldiers were ordered to be kept under arms.

¹ This must be in error for 29th October.

Domingo de la Presa left for Lima on the 30th October with a similar order, which he delivered to Pizarro who replied as follows in a letter [given in full].

[The substance of this document is that the Governor will not send his daughter Doña Francesca nor come himself for an interview with the Adelantado. He could not do so unless the Adelantado had restored what he had forcibly seized before any judgment was given, and unless his brother Hernando Pizarro were set free, imprisoned as he was by Almagro, who was not entitled to be his judge. He would not, therefore, coerce his adherents to stay in Lima. Besides there would be endless debates and disputes, which the Provincial should avoid and prevent. He would send the Decrees by his representative Hernan Gonzalez, and he would also send the most learned pilots, that, having learnt the truth, the Provincial might declare the boundary of the two governments.]

The Governor sent this reply to the Judge Arbitrator on the advice of his captains and friends on whose opinions he relied, being anxious to see the judgment he would pronounce. When the notary returned with the answer to Bobadilla, he sent him back to say that, notwithstanding the excuses he made, the Governor must appear before him as he had ordered. The notary then returned to deliver this message to the Governor and Pizarro replied that he would come with twelve horsemen but that he would not deliver the hostages demanded. As the Governor would not deliver hostages, the Adelantado Almagro did not send his son with Diego and Gomez de Alvarado. He, however, prepared to come with twelve horsemen. The captain Rodrigo Orgoñez by no means approved of these arrangements. He believed not only that no good could come of them, but that they would increase and inflame the passions on both sides and that therefore Almagro ought not to risk his person with only twelve horsemen. The Adelantado answered that the captains at Lima were bound by oath to remain in Lima and not to concert any fraud or deceit, and they had done the same at Chinchá. Hernan Ponce de Leon had, at this time, come to Chinchá with a message from the Governor Pizarro to the Adelantado,

requesting him to set his brother Hernando Pizarro free, now that the disputes between them were entrusted to the Provincial to give judgment. Orgoñez was opposed to these embassies, and advised the Adelantado rather to attend to preparations for war.

CHAPTER XXXIV

How the Provincial BOBADILLA ordered the Governors and captains to take an oath that there should be no treachery nor deceit during the meetings, and how HERNAN PONCE DE LEON received the oath of ALMAGRO and his captains.

AFTER the Judge Arbitrator Fray Francisco de Bobadilla had summoned the Governors to appear before him, finding that Pizarro refused to send hostages, he determined that a solemn oath should be taken that their captains on the one side would remain at Chinchá, and on the other at Lima, for in this way the evils would be avoided which would arise if they encountered each other, or if the troops should set out and follow their Governors.

The Judge then sent to Almagro, calling on him to pledge himself on his honour to order all his captains and soldiers not to move without his special orders, on pain of death and loss of all their goods. As the honourable gentleman Hernan Ponce de Leon was in his camp the oaths were to be administered and received by him, and the Provincial gave a commission to Hernan Ponce to act accordingly, and this was done.

[Here follows the oath taken by the Adelantado.]

Witnesses to the oath taken by the Adelantado:

DIEGO DE ALVARADO

GOMEZ DE ALVARADO

DON ALONZO DE MONTEMAYOR

JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA

Hernan Ponce then took the oath and administered it to the following captains:

[Here follows the oath duly witnessed by the notaries.]

Those who took the oath were:

RODRIGO ORGOÑEZ

FRANCISCO DE CHAVES

JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA

VASCO DE GUEVARA

CRISTÓBAL DE SOTELO

(all captains)

and the following gentlemen:

DIEGO DE ALVARADO

GOMEZ DE ALVARADO

DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ

DON ALONZO DE MONTEMAYOR

RODRIGO NUÑEZ (quartermaster)

JUAN DE HERRADA¹

JUAN DE GUZMAN

NOGUEROL DE ULLOA

JUAN MARTINEZ

DIEGO NUÑEZ DE MERCADO

DIEGO DE HOCES¹

JUAN TELLO¹

Hernan Ponce de Leon then left Chinchá in order to report to the Provincial, and to afterwards proceed thence to join the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro.

CHAPTER XXXV

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO at Lima, got all things ready for war, and how he left that city with twelve horsemen, and of the solemn oath taken.

ALTHOUGH the Judge Arbitrator Bobadilla had ordered the Governors to take these solemn oaths respecting the interviews at Mala, not for this did they desire peace, nor did they hope that their disputes and dissensions would come to a peaceful end; but rather that he who was best able to would defeat the other, and remain the superior, with power to govern the whole kingdom. The intentions of the Governors were not to renew the old friendship with loss to their dignity, for Don Francisco Pizarro had no wish to have any equal in the kingdom he governed, and Almagro not only held the same view but wanted to have the government of the greater part

¹ Herrada, Hoces and Tello appear here among Almagro's gentlemen for the first time. They were among the assassins of Pizarro, Herrada, who died a natural death, being the ringleader. Hoces and Tello were hanged at Guamanga, after the battle of Chupas.

of the realm for himself. If they raised some arguments in justification, and to some extent wished it to be understood that they expressed fear of the King in the assemblies of men they had drawn together without authority to prepare for war, it was merely to vindicate their cause to their followers and arouse their anger, so that believing it to be just they would be encouraged to defend it.

Rodrigo Orgóñez, after Hernan Ponce de Leon had left Chinchá, took the Adelantado apart and said:

If those captains pretend to see whether the end of these arduous and important negotiations will turn out prosperously or the reverse, they will not have done anything wonderful, for even to think about it causes astonishment, and those captains who are downhearted will never do anything. If they think that the thing they undertake will result in honour and dignities for themselves, they will lose them by wasting time and they will deserve any misfortune that may befall them. Have I never warned you about the negotiations that are being carried on? and your fall and destruction if you follow the opinions of men who have not made up their minds on which side they are, but when reproached to their faces, can make out that they sought your friendship lance in hand, while you condemn mine when I have so clearly shown you the course to pursue in obtaining your desire to enjoy the government which the King has assigned for you. Now you seem quite content with the oaths that have been taken. Perhaps you believe that the Pizarros will fulfil all the promises they have made. You forget that among them are Gonzalo Pizarro whom you imprisoned in Cuzco, and Alonzo de Alvarado whom you defeated at Abancay. These long so much for revenge for the affronts they received that there is nothing in the world they wish for more. I have ever sought for your honour and have desired to follow your banner, and in this negotiation I am anxious to give you wholesome advice, good for your interest and not harmful for your friends. It is, that you should at once order Hernando Pizarro's head to be cut off and, with your forces in good order, withdraw, by the pass of Huaytara, to the city of Cuzco, whither Pizarro and his forces would not be long in following, and as it is more difficult to march by the snow of the mountains than by the valleys and rivers yielding fruits and other supplies, they will become so fatigued and worn-out that, without much difficulty you will capture them, and have the Governor as your prisoner. Believe me that what has been ever

will be: the conquered will always be condemned and held to bear the blame, while the conqueror is ever justified in his acts.

The Adelantado replied that there was no reason to believe that the Governor and his captains would break their oaths, and that it would not be well to withdraw from the interviews, or to let it be said that he had broken the treaty and agreement he had made. That until he had heard the decision he would neither retreat to Cuzco nor kill Hernando Pizarro which, it would be said, was an act of private revenge.

While these things were passing between Almagro and Orgoñez in the valley of Chincha, the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro received the news that the Adelantado had taken the oath and intended to come privately to Mala with not more than a dozen horsemen, and that all his followers had sworn to remain in Chincha. He then took the captains and his principal friends aside and told them the news, also that the same obligations had been laid upon him, and that he also intended to set out with only a dozen horsemen. He asked the opinions of his captains as to what he should do at the interview, for he did not place entire confidence in the good faith of the Adelantado. The advice of Gonzalo Pizarro and the bachelor Garcia Diaz Arias was that the troops should follow him and arrest the Adelantado, as this could be done without trouble or loss of life, and not to wait until he returned and joined his captains in their camp. When he had been made prisoner he should be sent to Spain that His Majesty, being informed of the way he had seized upon Cuzco and of the evils that had resulted from his conduct, might order him to be punished. Francisco de Chaves and Diego de Agüero, with others, said that he ought not to be arrested, because it was clear that such an act of violence could not be concealed and they would be looked upon as treacherous. The captain Alonzo de Alvarado said that if they resolved to arrest the Adelantado, it would not be honourable, nor in accordance with their positions as gentlemen, to swear and afterwards to break their oaths. All this I was told by the Bishop, now [Bishop] of Quito, who was always on the side of Pizarro, and by Alonzo de Alvarado and Lorenzo de Aldana. On the

side of Almagro I had the evidence of Juan de Guzman and the factor Mercado, and many others on both sides. Moreover I have had the official documents before me, from which I took the information. Besides it is well known that the Pizarros intended to arrest Almagro though I do not think that the Governor gave the order; he only ordered the citizens of Lima to be prepared. Having advised the notary Pedro Castañeda of the commands of the Provincial Bobadilla, and desiring to comply with them literally, he ordered the notary Antonio de Oliva to bear witness that he left Lima quietly with only twelve horsemen. Then ordering the captains Don Alonzo de Alvarado, Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco de Chaves, Diego de Urbina, Pedro de Castro, and Pedro de Vergara, to assemble, he gave them the original instructions, and set out from the city of Lima on November 10th, 1537.

His company consisted of twelve horsemen and three pages, the chamberlain Villareal, and the secretary Antonio Picado.

The twelve horsemen were:

BENITO SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL	ALONZO DE TORO
FRANCISCO DE GODOY	JUAN DE BARBARAN
JUAN ENRIQUEZ	RODRIGO DE CHAVES
DON PEDRO PUERTOCARRERO	HERNANDO BACHICAO
GOMEZ DE LEON	NUÑO DE CHAVES
FRANCISCO DE CÁRDENAS	GARCIA DIAZ ARIAS

Many cavaliers started with him, but he ordered them to return. In three days, on the 13th November, he arrived at Mala, where he was well received by the Judge Bobadilla to whom he said that he had come in compliance with his order; Bobadilla replied that as the Adelantado Almagro and his captains had taken the required oath, he must do the same in person; also that he must order his people to make no movement without his permission. Hernan Ponce and Don Alonzo Enriquez had already arrived, who had been appointed to administer the oath to him.

Soon after the Governor had left Lima, Gonzalo Pizarro started with seven hundred Spaniards, horse and foot, travelling in good order, and making as little noise as possible.

CHAPTER XXXVI

How DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ administered the oath to the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO and to the captains and principal persons who were present.

HAVING arrived at Mala, the Governor Pizarro was very anxious to win the Judge Bobadilla over to his side, knowing that, to a certain extent, he was inclined in his favour, rather than Almagro's. They had discussions and conversations both secretly and in public.

The oath was taken by Pizarro in presence of Don Alonzo Enriquez.

[Then follow the words of the oath, and the names of the four witnesses.]

When the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro had taken the oath and signed it, the Provincial ordered Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman to administer the oath to the other gentlemen who had arrived with Pizarro and were present, namely:

ILLAN SUAREZ DE CARBAJAL	DON PEDRO DE PORTUGAL
THE LICENTIATE CARBAJAL	RODRIGO DE CHAVES
DON PEDRO PUERTOCARRERO	NUÑO DE CHAVES
FRANCISCO DE GODOY	JUAN DE BARBARAN
GOMEZ DE LEON	FRANCISCO DE CÁRDENAS
HERNANDO BACHICAO	ALONZO DE TORO

[Here follows the oath.]

[A similar oath was taken by the captains at Limaguana before Hernan Ponce, namely:

ALONZO DE ALVARADO	FRANCISCO DE CHAVES
DIEGO DE ROJAS	DIEGO DE URBINA
PEDRO DE VERGARA	PEDRO DE CASTRO
CRISTÓBAL DE BÚRGOS	

This was duly signed and witnessed.]

CHAPTER XXXVII

How the Adelantado DIEGO DE ALMAGRO left Chinchá to go to Mala for an interview with the Governor PIZARRO, and what else happened.

WHEN the Captain Hernan Ponce had administered the oaths to Almagro and his captains in the valley of Chinchá, others besides Orgoñez told the Adelantado that the Pizarros were very crafty, and that they were not to be trusted. As these things were said Almagro sent for the accountant Juan de Guzman and said "I know well how much the Emperor's service will gain by these negotiations and how great is my responsibility." He added:

You have had a hand in arranging these affairs, so note that I am warned that in the interview between myself and the Governor treachery is contemplated. On this account you must go on to the Governor before me and say to him that he must treat of peace in such a way that we must not be taken to be cruel enemies, and that I bring with me only twelve horsemen, leaving orders that my captains and soldiers are not to move from their camp until, please God, the business is concluded. If you suspect treachery come and warn me.

Juan de Guzman said that he would obey these orders, and at once left Chinchá and reached Mala. When he arrived where the Provincial Bobadilla was stationed he found that the Governor had not yet come, so he wished to go on, but Bobadilla told him that this was a safe place for the Adelantado, and that Pizarro was not to be suspected. Nevertheless Guzman went on, and they say that when Bobadilla knew this he sent four horsemen to inform the Governor.

When Guzman met Pizarro he gave him a letter of credence from the Adelantado. Going aside with his secretary, he told him to see what it contained. The secretary replied that it was a letter of recommendation and that he might trust it, and that Almagro had been informed that the Governor was coming with a large force, which was not a thing he could consent to, after having pledged their words as gentlemen

that each should come with only twelve horsemen. Pizarro with a sweep of his arm, and an angry countenance, said to Juan de Guzman, "What devil brings you here? You have suspicions over there that I come with more men than was agreed? Do you think that we are ignorant that you have made a *balsa* to send your despatches to the King?" Juan de Guzman replied, "If some *balsas* have been made it is because you will not give us a ship, so as to keep His Majesty ignorant of what has happened here." The Governor answered, "What is it that they can write to him except that they want to seize and usurp what I won with so much labour." Juan de Guzman begged for leave to go ahead on his return journey, for he was satisfied that the Governor was coming with only twelve horsemen. Pizarro replied, "Where I am all is safe, and there is no need for you to go on in front." So they returned to Mala together; whence Guzman went on to advise the Adelantado, while Pizarro and his people took the oaths, as already related.

As soon as Juan de Guzman arrived at Chincha and reported that the Governor was at Mala, the Adelantado then told his captains and soldiers to be prepared to help him should they see him in any difficulty. Rodrigo Orgoñez, raising up his right hand declared that nothing would come of these interviews, and please God things might turn out better than he could forecast. The Adelantado summoned, to go with him to Mala,

DIEGO DE ALVARADO	JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA
GOMEZ DE ALVARADO	VASCO DE GUEVARA
FRANCISCO DE CHAVES	DIEGO NUÑEZ DE GUEVARA
JUAN DE GUZMAN	JUAN DE HERRADA
JUAN TELLO	NOGUEROL DE ULLOA
DIEGO DE HOCES	and SAUCEDO

besides three pages, the secretary Sosa, the chamberlain and the chaplain Segovia.

Many other cavaliers wanted to accompany him to hear the judgment given by the Judge Bobadilla and to meet Don Francisco Pizarro, but the Adelantado told them that he must not break his word nor be looked upon as perjured.

Notwithstanding these excuses, he could not avoid being accompanied by some of the principal people in his camp as far as the river near Mala whence he ordered them to return, and himself crossed the bridge with only twelve soldiers.

All this time Gonzalo Pizarro was very desirous of reaching Mala without being seen, in order to seize the Adelantado, and so he made his men march as much under cover as possible. He had arranged for a signal, that on hearing certain trumpets in Mala, he would know that the Adelantado had arrived, and that they could come out and seize him; if they really wanted to do so. He placed an ambuscade of arquebusmen and musketeers under Captain Castro, in a cane-brake very near the building at Mala, ready to obey any order. All this was done without making any stir. Francisco de Godoy, who had come with the Governor from Los Reyes as one of his twelve horsemen, was a great friend of the Adelantado, and regretted that he should come in ignorance of their intention to seize or kill him; and he wished to warn him. Of this intention of seizing the Adelantado, most people lay the blame on Gonzalo Pizarro. Some say that the Governor ordered it. Others deny it, but not so the present Bishop of Quito, for he affirms that even the Governor Pizarro himself favoured it, as the best way of securing peace. So he informed me, in the City of the Kings, when discussing the question.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

How the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO arrived at Mala and how, learning that they intended to seize him, he returned to Chincha.

THE captains and other followers of the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro were very near Mala, and Captain Castro with some arquebusmen and musketeers were secretly posted in a cane-brake. The Adelantado arrived near Mala and sent two horsemen to announce his approach to the Provincial. All waited his arrival near the door of the building. When

he came near the place where the Governor stood, he got off his horse and, taking off his hat, came forward to embrace him. Pizarro had on a helmet. He did not remove it, nor do more than, in sign of courtesy, raise his hand to it and make a bow. When the Adelantado came forward to embrace him, he did the same, showing little pleasure in doing so. After they had embraced, the Provincial proposed that they should go upstairs to the room above, where there was more space for conversation. All those who came with the Adelantado having arrived the Governor thereupon said to them, "It seems to me, gentlemen, that you have come here more to quarrel than for anything else." They all replied that they were there to serve him. Juan de Guzman considered that, on such an occasion the trumpets should not be silent, so he asked the trumpeters why they did not sound them. They answered that it was not yet time. When he heard this he wondered whether they were awaiting some signal, and that on the trumpets sounding they would know how to act, and he watched when they were going to sound, intending to prevent them.

The two Governors went upstairs, a little apart from the crowd, that they might talk together freely. The Friar Bobadilla, as soon as he saw them together, ordered them, as well as the royal officers of both governments, to lay down their arms, and himself took away their swords; and said to them, "You can come to blows now if you like."

The Governor seemed to be more angry than the Adelantado and said to him:

What is the reason that you seized the city of Cuzco, which I discovered and won with so much labour? You have taken my Indian women and my bondsmen, and not content with such great outrages, you imprisoned my brothers.

The Adelantado answered:

Be careful how you say that I took Cuzco from you, and that it was won by you in person. You know well who won it, and if I occupied the city I did so by right of the Decrees granted to me by the King, by which I rightly entered on my government. As the land was the King's he was entitled to give it to me, for it

is not 'hierba de Trujillo' and no one has any power over it but what the King may grant to him. If I imprisoned your brothers, and still detain Hernando, I did so justly; for when I was a league from the city I sent Juan de Guzman, who is here, to demand that I should be received as Governor, and requested him not to assemble troops, for I did not wish to enter in warlike guise, but with the Decrees of His Majesty over my head. When the Cabildo were assembled, Juan de Guzman begged Hernando to leave the Decrees with the Municipality so that they could comply with the King's orders. When they came out of the Cabildo they examined the Decree, and Juan de Guzman gave them plenty of evidence of the pilots who said that the city fell within my jurisdiction, and Hernando Pizarro said publicly "My brother who is younger defended it, but I will defend it better." For these reasons I entered Cuzco and made myself accepted as Governor.

Pizarro replied:

The pretexts are not sufficient justification for you daring to imprison my brother and to attack the Captain Alonzo de Alvarado; therefore restore the city of Cuzco to me, and release my brother. Beware! lest if you do not, great mischief come of it.

The Adelantado answered:

Cuzco is within my jurisdiction, and I will not give it up except by order from His Majesty. As to what you say about liberating your brother, here are men learned in the law, let them decide what I can do, and I will act with justice, and let him present himself in person before His Majesty with the documents.

The Governor, as he desired to have his brother with him, answered that he was content.

At this time, according to the opinions of some people, Gonzalo Pizarro with the other captains and Pedro de Castro who were in ambush, waited to hear the signal of the trumpets in order to rush in and seize the Adelantado. Others say that Francisco de Godoy warned Almagro of the treachery that was intended, they also say that Juan de Barbaran told Juan de Herrada who warned the accountant Juan de Guzman who, in great haste, ordered a horse to be brought close to where the Adelantado was standing and told him what was happening and that he must start away there and then. I believe this actually happened for Juan de Guzman himself

told me, as well as many others. But what really induced the Adelantado hurriedly to leave the place was because a moment before he heard Francisco de Godoy sing these words of the ballad:

Tiempo es el Caballero	Time it is oh Cavalier
Tiempo es de andar de aqui	Time it is to flee from here.

In addition to this Godoy signalled with a wink that he should be gone and Juan de Guzman ran up and brought the horse. Almagro, excusing himself for a natural purpose, mounted the horse and galloped away, followed by those who had come with him. Rodrigo de Orgoñez suspecting some treachery and harm to the Adelantado, leaving some men at Chinchá, marched with the rest to the river Lunahuana.

When the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro saw the flight of Almagro he was sorry, and calling Francisco de Godoy he ordered that captain to follow and tell the Adelantado that he begged him to return again to Mala the next day, asking why he had gone off in that way, as the Governor had no other wish than to make a working agreement with him, in such a way that the understanding between them should be better than it had been. Francisco de Godoy said that he would go. The Governor also ordered Alonzo Martin de Don Benito to go with Francisco de Godoy.

When the Pachacamac captains heard of the flight of Almagro they were deeply annoyed, and they approached the town of Mala. However, the Adelantado did not ride very fast, and night coming on when he was at some distance from Mala he ordered his tent to be pitched, and went to bed. His companions kept watch all round, to see if they were followed. When the greater part of the night was passed Francisco de Godoy and Alonzo Martin de Don Benito overtook them and met Juan de Guzman, and on being recognized they went together to the Adelantado. Taking Francisco de Godoy apart, Almagro enquired why he had followed him so late at night. Godoy gave the Governor's message and how he wished Almagro to return to him at once. The Adelantado replied, complaining of Pizarro and all his captains, who after swearing that they would do him no harm, intended to seize

him by treachery, declaring that the Pizarros were always false. Having said this he called Alonzo Martin de Don Benito into the tent with the other and said to them, "How is this? Where were you that you should have arrived so quickly at Mala?" Alonzo Martin said that, for the great friendship he had always felt for the Adelantado, he would tell him the truth, though not with a wish to fan the flame but to extinguish it. He went on to say, "You must know that the captains of Pizarro were close to Mala with their followers, ready to seize you, on a certain signal being given." The Adelantado said, "Tell me how many men is the Governor bringing." Alonzo Martin answered, "800 men and many rounds of ammunition." Those who stood by, thinking that he was exaggerating, said to the Adelantado, "That is impossible." Alonzo Martin replied that he spoke the truth, and that there were more than 850, horse and foot. The Adelantado said that they should not doubt what Alonzo Martin stated, for he believed it as though he had seen it. Then, looking towards Francisco de Godoy, he asked him what measures should be taken for their safety, to prevent treachery, if he came back to Mala. It is said Godoy replied that if he returned to Mala he should undoubtedly keep Hernando Pizarro as a hostage.

Almagro then took counsel with Diego and Gomez de Alvarado and the other captains who came with him. Having done so he answered Francisco de Godoy and Alonzo Martin, touching the message they had brought on behalf of the Governor.

He said that he would return to Chinchá with his followers and that the Governor and his party could come to the river Lunahuana where they would complete the agreement. As to being present at the delivery of the decision by the Judge, the presence of the representatives would be sufficient for the delivery of the papers. After he had told them this the messengers returned to Mala, and the Adelantado went to Chinchá. When the Adelantado met Orgoñez he was delighted to see him and they returned together to Chinchá.

The Governor Pizarro rejoined his captains on receiving

the answer of the Adelantado. Then Bobadilla anxious to proceed with the business ordered the representatives to present to him the Decrees held by the two Governors, that with them and the evidence of the pilots he might deliver a just judgment.

In those days the Indians suffered great oppression so that many died; for the soldiers were numerous and they had no mercy.

CHAPTER XXXIX

How the representatives presented the Decrees given by HIS MAJESTY to the Governors, which are here set forth.

THE representatives of the Governors, having received the command of the Judge Bobadilla, exhibited the royal Decrees before him, Hernan Gonzalez presenting the Decree given by the King to Don Francisco Pizarro, and Barragan presenting the one given by the King to Don Diego de Almagro.

[Two long legal documents. Pizarro was granted the government of the region for 200 leagues, counting along the meridian, commencing at the place called by the Indians Tempula, afterwards called Santiago. The first "Decree" or grant is dated July 26th, 1529. The jurisdiction was to extend to Chinchá. A second document extended Pizarro's jurisdiction 60 or 70 leagues further south, to the *caciques* of *Coli* and *Chipi*. The second document is dated May 4th, 1534. Barragan presented the third document by which Almagro was made Governor of a region commencing where Pizarro's government ended, and extending 200 leagues to the south. Dated 19th July, 1534.]

When these documents were presented to the Judge Arbitrator Bobadilla he took them, kissed them and placed them on his head declaring that he would obey the orders they contained, and that he was ready to do justice. He ordered the Decrees to be included in the process.

CHAPTER XL

How the Provincial administered the oath to certain Pilots, in order to ascertain the latitude where the Governments ended, and what the Pilots said.

AFTER the Provincial had seen the Decrees, desiring to give judgment without delay, he ordered the representatives to bring the pilots before him, that they might state their opinions touching the boundary. Certain pilots having arrived on behalf of Pizarro and on behalf of Almagro, and we may be allowed to believe, without offence, that they had been strongly exhorted to be diligent on the side on which they were employed, and had come for that purpose, that is, that they should support their claim in such a way that it included Cuzco (for each of the Governments claimed it, as it afforded hopes of being able to grant *repartimientos*).

The Provincial administered oaths to the following Pilots:

JUAN DE MAFLA

FRANCISCO CANSINO

GINÉS SÁNCHEZ

FRANCISCO QUINTERO

PERO GALLEG0

JUAN MARQUEZ

The Judge asked them all to declare the latitude in which that town of Mala was placed. They said that they had taken the altitude on that very day with their astrolabes, and had made the calculation, and they found Mala to be in Latitude $12^{\circ} 18'$ [S.], all unanimously giving the same result.

After this Juan Mejia was sworn. He was asked whether he knew where the government of Don Francisco Pizarro commenced, and replied that he had heard many people say that it commenced at Santiago. Asked in what degree it was, he answered $1^{\circ} 30'$ [N.]. At the request of Hernando Navarro, the observations of some pilots which had been taken at the city of Los Reyes were also examined. One pilot named Hernando Galdin who had been called on behalf of Don Francisco Pizarro to state what he knew about the boundary of his government, looking at the chart of the South Sea, said that he knew, counting the degrees on the meridian, north to

south, that the port of Santiago, which is on the coast and where the government of Don Francisco commences, stands at $1^{\circ} 30' N.$ a few minutes more or less, and that the City of the Kings is in $12^{\circ} 6' S.$ a few minutes more or less and that the said port of Lima is called the City of the Kings [de los Reyes]. Counting the leagues, there being $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in each degree, this makes 240 leagues a little more or less. He had heard other pilots say that Cuzco fell within the limits of the government of Don Francisco Pizarro, according to the latitude by more than four leagues. Another pilot named Juan Roche said that he had seen the chart showing the coastline, and had sailed along the coast from point to point and bay to bay. And having taken the altitude he knew that the river of Santiago was in $1^{\circ} N.$ of the line, and thence counting along the meridian to the south to the port of Lima or City of the Kings, which is in $13^{\circ} 15' S.$, and counting $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to a degree, there are from the river of Santiago to the City of the Kings, along the meridian, 232 leagues. From the City of the Kings to Zangalla, which is 5 leagues beyond [this side of?] Chincha, counting on the meridian, from the City of the Kings to Chincha 35 leagues and from Chincha to Zangalla five leagues, so that from Santiago to Zangalla there are 262 leagues. This pilot said he was trained in Portugal and had navigated the Ocean Sea and the South Sea for ten years. Other pilots had told him that Cuzco is in $13^{\circ} 30' S.$ and if this is so, it is within the government of Don Francisco Pizarro.

Juan de Mafla, pilot, said that, from the accounts he had from other skilful pilots, Santiago is in $1^{\circ} 30' N.$ and that the City of the Kings was in $12^{\circ} S.$ The grant of His Majesty to Don Francisco Pizarro was 270 leagues on the meridian which make $15\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and, the calculations of the pilots being right, the line will be two degrees south of the city of Lima, and as Cuzco is in 14° it must be within the territory of Don Francisco Pizarro. Another pilot named Juan Fernandez gave the same evidence as Juan de Mafla. These pilots were on the side of Pizarro. On Almagro's behalf others came forward who said that Zangalla was in 14° , and that all beyond was in the government of the Adelantado.

When the hearing of these witnesses was finished, the representative of Almagro said that he wished to put in a document which had been received by the Adelantado at Cuzco. The Judge ordered it to be received.

[This was a statement by Diego de Narvaez, notary to the town council of Cuzco that on April 18th 1537 the following municipal officers being present at a meeting, Gabriel de Rojas, Francisco de Villacastin, Diego Maldonado, Hernando de Aldana, Juan de Valdivieso, Gonzalo de los Nidos, Lucas Martinez, Francisco de Almendras, Rodrigo de Herrera (Aldermen), they unanimously received Don Diego de Almagro, Governor of New Toledo, as Governor and Captain General of the city of Cuzco by virtue of a royal Decree of His Majesty.]

These things being done, the Provincial Bobadilla received the evidence, on oath, of the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal and the licentiate de la Gama respecting the transactions between the Adelantado and themselves at Cuzco. He then proceeded to give judgment.

CHAPTER XLI

How the Provincial Fray FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA pronounced judgment between the Governors, on the limits of their provinces: taken from the original documents.

THE Governor Don Francisco Pizarro remained near the tribunal at Mala, and heard of everything that took place there. He often wrote to the Judge, urging him to lose no time in pronouncing judgment, for he had now seen the royal Decrees and knew the latitude of the river of Santiago and of the city of Cuzco. He and all his captains believed that the judgment would be in their favour. The Provincial could not deny, as I am aware, that he was more inclined to the interests of the Governor than to those of the Adelantado.

The Adelantado also wrote to the Judge, urging him to be very careful in considering the evidence, as it was a matter needing great discernment and learning; but it was certain that Cuzco was within his boundary, and that justice must not fail to be done to him. The Provincial replied to all courteously saying that was his desire. Orgoñez alone showed no confidence in the judgment the Provincial was about to give. He told the Adelantado that they would deceive him, and would retain all the land, and, in order to secure full possession of it, they would take his life. Diego de Alvarado also said that it would have been better not to have trusted to a single friar, but to have relied upon the four gentlemen in accordance with the original scheme. However, as things were, he was waiting to see what the Judge would do, as it was certain that as the city of Cuzco fell within his jurisdiction, he felt assured the Judge would not fail to give it to him.

Having examined the evidence, Bobadilla delivered his judgment. As it was in favour of Pizarro, he ordered him and his captains to appear before him, as well as the representatives of Almagro.

The Judge Bobadilla then read his judgment before them all. It here follows, copied by me from the original document:

[It is a long legal document with extracts from the grants and many repetitions, here condensed.]

I. As the latitude of Santiago is uncertain, I order the two Governors to send a ship with two pilots, and a notary on behalf of each side on board, to fix the position accurately, taking the observation on shore so as to avoid the motion of the ship.

II. As the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro held the city of Cuzco with his lieutenants and other officials, lawfully and in perfect peace, when the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro with a superior armed force seized the city, and imprisoned the Governor's lieutenant and other persons, it was an act by which God and His Majesty were ill served, causing great disturbances throughout the kingdom, as well among Spaniards as natives. Whereas the Adelantado thus dispossessed the Governor without authority from His Majesty to do so, the act was done in defiance of the Royal Decrees, which order that all should be done in perfect peace and agreement with the Governor Pizarro, and was one of gross disservice towards God our Lord and His Majesty.

Whereas the entry of Almagro into Cuzco, in spite of Soto's resistance, was an ill service to His Majesty, and to place the city, as he did, under his own authority was contrary to His Majesty's orders; it is therefore clear that the Adelantado is not Governor of that city, nor is he a Judge with authority to imprison, as he has imprisoned, the lieutenant of the said Governor Don Francisco Pizarro. I therefore order the said Don Diego de Almagro to deliver up the city of Cuzco, and the gold and silver therein belonging to the Royal fifths, to Don Francisco Pizarro or to whomsoever he may direct, also I order that the lieutenant and other prisoners be liberated within six days.

III. As the said Don Diego de Almagro led an expedition towards the Straits of Magellan and His Majesty ought to be informed of the result, I order Don Francisco Pizarro to give him a ship to take home his despatches.

IV. As Don Diego Almagro is in a place where there is great need of necessaries which come from Spain, I order that he and his followers be supplied with all that they require, and that the merchant Antonio de Pastrana be employed to furnish what is required at moderate prices.

V. As the two Governors have armies ready for war, I order that both armies be disbanded within fifteen days, and that the men be employed to subdue and people the land, and bring the Inca to peace.

VI. As Don Diego de Almagro is now in the valley of Chincha where the *repartimientos* belong to the citizens of Lima, I order that he and his followers retire to the valley of La Nasca within nine days, and that they do not come beyond the valley of Yca.

VII. I order, and God and His Majesty will be well served by it, that there be perpetual friendship and peace between Don Francisco Pizarro and Don Diego de Almagro.

VIII. I order the two Governors to despatch a trustworthy messenger to His Majesty to inform him of the result of this tribunal, and so I deliver my judgment.

(Signed) FR. FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA in the *tampu* or building of Mala the 15th of November 1537, being present the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, Hernan Gonzalez his representative and Juan Rodriguez Barragan, representing Don Diego de Almagro.

The Governor Don Francisco Pizarro said that he was ready to comply with the judgment, and Juan Rodriguez Barragan said he would offer a reply. The witnesses were the licentiate Carbajal, the factor Illan Suarez de Carbajal, the

licentiate Prado, and the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado. Certified by Domingo de la Preso and Alonzo de Susa.

As soon as Juan Rodriguez Barragan heard judgment pronounced by the Provincial, he answered that the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro held and possessed the city of Cuzco in peace, with the consent of the municipality and citizens as appears from the statement of Diegò de Narvaez, the notary, and he also holds possession of all the pueblos and valleys as far as the City of the Kings, where he performed his duty as Governor in conformity with the royal grant. The Adelantado has made prisoners who, by process of law, have been found culpable, and as they are criminal cases they cannot be dealt with by this tribunal. As to what else concerns the Adelantado, I say that he is aggrieved by this judgment, and I appeal to His Majesty before his Council of the Indies, under whose protection I place the person and property of the Adelantado. I request His Paternity to record this protest and appeal. The Judge replied that there could be no appeal, and the judgment was given with the consent of both parties; "therefore in spite of your appeal I order what has been ordered." On the part of the Governor, his representative demanded peremptory execution of the judgment, that it might be carried out in its entirety. The Judge ordered accordingly.

CHAPTER XLII

Of the great tumult that arose among the followers of DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO when they learnt the judgment that had been given; and of the feeling shown by the Adelantado.

It was not long before the judgment became known at Chincha, and when the Adelantado and his captains heard it, their perturbation was very great, all showing it by a sad and pensive silence. After a short time, with great fury, the silence was broken, and they made a cry to arms, saying they would

not wait longer, that it was not right that so great an evil should be tolerated, nor should the cruel friar fail to be punished for the wrong he had done. Throughout the camp or city of Almagro there was such noise and tumult that one could not understand the other. They held meetings, saying that it was owing to the ignorance of Almagro that Pizarro got the better of them, and would occupy the rich and thickly inhabited provinces while they would have to live in swamps and wilds among woodcutters. If they were to give up Cuzco, it would have been much better to have crossed the river Maule and plunge into the interior of those regions which border on the Straits of Magellan. Many of them were so distressed that the Adelantado did not care to order the tumult to cease, and he himself, unable to conceal the pain which the news caused him, said:

Perhaps you do not all know how great has been my desire to advance the King's interests and how, through labour and hardships, for thirty years I have served him. If it had not been for me this very rich kingdom would not have been discovered. Do not doubt what I say, for I declare that had it not been for this worn-out old man you see before you, if he had not put such energy into the discovery, and pressed it with such solicitude, Pizarro would have given it up, and many know how often he wanted to return to Tierra Firme. And now there comes a friar, with his cunning, who gives his personal opinion on a matter which needed many doctors, jurists, and learned men to decide rightly, and exhorted by the arguments of the Pizarros, my enemies, and gives such an unjust judgment against me.

Rodrigo Orgoñez, seeing how afflicted he was, told him not to worry himself, as it was for the most part his own fault, and that he, Orgoñez, regretted that all he had foretold had come true, and that through not following his advice he [the Adelantado] was no longer in possession of his government. The only remedy now was to cut off Hernando Pizarro's head, and to retire to the city of Cuzco where they could fortify themselves. If the Governor should follow with a powerful army, the roads were not so easy nor well provided but that the men must arrive so tired and worn that they could easily be defeated at any point. He should not let the judgment

given by Bobadilla annoy him, but remembering what Caesar said "If the laws have to be broken, they must be broken in order to reign."

The Adelantado replied, "Let us see if the false Judge grants an appeal, and if we can come to such agreement that His Majesty's service will not be injured by wars and tumults, which cannot be avoided if this dispute goes on."

As they were so indignant at the judgment they threatened Hernando Pizarro with death, and some say that he was told to confess as they were going to kill him. It is said that orders were given that when there was a call to arms, his head was to be cut off without any further ado.

CHAPTER XLIII

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO sent FRANCISCO DE GODOY and HERNAN PONCE and the licentiate PRADO for an interview with the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO with a view to peace, and what happened.

AFFAIRS remained in such a state of irritation and tension after Bobadilla had given judgment that war was immediately kindled, although Bobadilla believed that all was finished when he had settled the boundary. In the camp of Don Francisco Pizarro, which was formed on the banks of the river Lunahuana, there was no less excitement than in that of Almagro. "What were they waiting for?" was the cry, judgment has been given and they should go and release Hernando Pizarro, and resume possession of Cuzco. When the Governor heard that they talked at Chincha of killing Hernando Pizarro he took counsel, and decided to send messengers to the Adelantado so that, notwithstanding the judgment of Bobadilla, negotiations might be renewed, and his brother Hernando Pizarro released. He ordered Hernan

Ponce de Leon, Francisco de Godoy, and the licentiate Prado to go on this mission. Leaving Lunahuana they arrived at Chinchá, and told the Adelantado all that the Governor had said. The Adelantado replied that he wished for peace between them but in order to put it in train he could not be placed in the clutches of Bobadilla, for that would prevent any negotiation and end in nothing, for when they were on the point of arranging matters between themselves, he, Bobadilla, pronounced a judgment so very bad as to be beyond belief, which in place of promoting peace threw affairs into a worse state than ever, pronouncing on matters that had not been referred to him in the arbitration entrusted to him, since sentences in criminal causes, which he had judged, concerned only His Majesty and the members of the High Council. He would send some documents to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro by the accountant Juan de Guzman and Diego Nuñez de Mercado, with his power of attorney, to be placed before Bobadilla on his behalf, and that Pizarro should also appoint a gentleman on his part, and what these delegates should agree to the principals should swear to abide by.

The Adelantado in stating his opinion to Diego de Alvarado, Rodrigo Orgoñez, Juan de Sayavedra and others said that seeing that wars caused great evils and no good, and that His Majesty's service would suffer from such dissensions, he wished, therefore, once more to attempt an agreement, so as to put himself in the right, and so that no one should say that failure was his fault. He wished to give to the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado, the accountant Juan de Guzman, and the licentiate Prado, authority to go to the Governor's camp and submit certain draft proposals which had been drawn up, which on being agreed to, the Governors should swear solemnly not to break, establishing peace between them.

All agreed to this except Orgoñez, who was much against it, urging that they would be deceived, that none of the agreements would be kept, and that it would be much better to kill Hernando Pizarro and return to Cuzco. The Adelantado said that first it must be seen whether, without shedding of

blood, he can remain Governor of the province His Majesty had granted to him. Calling Guzman, Mercado and Prado to him, he ordered them to go to the camp of Don Francisco Pizarro and treat with him and his captains for peace, for which they were given full powers, taking with them the documents that had been drawn up. All three answered with one accord that they would do their best to establish peace. They all went, with Godoy and Hernan Ponce, to the camp of Pizarro and were well received.

When Don Francisco Pizarro heard what were the contents of these documents, he was so anxious to save his brother Hernando that he determined, designedly and with great cunning to agree to anything they chose, and when his brother was safe in his camp, to make war ruthlessly and be revenged on Almagro.

With this intention and cunning he sent for the messengers and said to them that he wanted a full agreement with the Adelantado, and that he already had his doubts about the Judge Bobadilla, and that they should associate with themselves the *Padre* Fray Juan de Olías and some gentlemen and men learned in science. The representative of Almagro agreed to this. Then the Governor, the representatives of the Adelantado, *Padre* Juan de Olías, Hernan Ponce de Leon, Francisco de Godoy, and other gentlemen, among them Alonzo de Alvarado, Benito Juarez de Carbajal, the licentiate de la Gama and Garcia Diaz Arias, after consultation, made the following declaration before a notary:

[Here follows a long document in legal form and phraseology.] The principal points are—

The Adelantado should retain the pueblo of Zangalla.

Don Francisco Pizarro should provide the ship to carry the Adelantado's despatches to His Majesty

The Adelantado should hold the city of Cuzco.

The Adelantado should not interfere with the Indians who had been assigned to the settlers at Lima.

Both parties should disband their forces.

CHAPTER XLIV

About the oaths taken by the Governor PIZARRO and his captains, which ratified what is contained in the Articles.

WHILE the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, more on account of his desire to see his brother Hernando safe than from any wish to come to terms with the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, put on an appearance of cheerfulness when announcing that he was delighted that things had not come to a rupture with the Adelantado, whom he loved more than a brother, those who had come as representatives of Almagro did not show any satisfaction unless he made them a covenant of fealty to be held to firmly, and not to be broken at any time. The Governor said that he, as well as his captains, was willing to swear to this.

[Here follows a long formal oath.]

CHAPTER XLV

How the Adelantado changed the pueblo of the Valley of Chincha to Zangalla, and how he discussed the liberation of HERNANDO PIZARRO; and how PERANZURES came from Spain, and about the Decrees and despatches he brought with him.

AFTER administering the oath to the Governor and his captains, as has been stated, the accountant Juan de Guzman, the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado and the licentiate Prado returned to acquaint the Adelantado with what had happened, and when they arrived at Chincha they told him all about it. They then administered the oath to the captains just as they had done at Lunahuana. When that duty was

done the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro moved the pueblo or city of Almagro, which he had situated at Chinchá, to the Valley of Zangalla; but he was not altogether satisfied and still believed that there was some malice in what the Governor was about.

Rodrigo Orgoñez made loud remonstrances, saying that the Adelantado wished to ruin himself, but his advice did not avail to stop what had already been arranged, and orders were given for Hernando Pizarro's release; in order to explain how this was done, it is necessary to make mention of certain documents drawn up at Mala when the Governors appeared before the Provincial, which were as follows:

[Here follows a transcript of the document which had been drawn up previously at Mala concerning the liberation of Hernando Pizarro. The conditions were that Hernando Pizarro was to appear before the King and Royal Council within six months of sailing from Nombre de Dios, was to pledge himself not to interfere in any way with the Adelantado before appearing before the King, and was not to leave the country before a vessel had been found to carry the Adelantado's despatches to the King.]

Almagro, however, deliberated with his captains concerning the policy of sending Hernando Pizarro to his brother, that he might be sent to Spain and present himself to His Majesty now that affairs had been so well arranged. Don Francisco Pizarro had received news of the arrival of Peranzures¹ from Spain, and of the Decree he brought respecting the boundary between the governments of himself and the Adelantado, and seeing that it was not to his advantage to upset the compact, for although his brother might be set free, his captains and others, being gentlemen, would not like to break their words, nor to be considered treacherous, he, therefore, sent for the Decree in great haste in order to present it to his captains, having, as it is said, kept Peranzures himself concealed for some time; by which is clearly seen the cunning and deceit with which he was treating the Adelantado.

¹ Pedro Anzures de Campo Redondo.

CHAPTER XLVI

In which the events related in the last chapter are concluded and how the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO examined the letters and despatches brought by Captain PERANZURES.

I HAVE before related how Peranzures had been sent to Spain by Don Francisco Pizarro, to report the rebellion of the Indians, the danger in which the country was placed, and that Cuzco was besieged by them. On arrival in Spain he gave a full account to her Majesty the Empress and the Royal Council, the King and Emperor being then absent from Spain. The principal object of the Governor in sending him was to obtain an order that each of the Governors should remain where he was until the boundary was finally settled. This was done by Pizarro because he thought that Peranzures would return before Almagro came back from Chili, and that by sending the Decree to him there, he would be constrained to remain where he was. On arrival in Spain Peranzures set about the business entrusted to him with all diligence, and returned when ready with the following despatches. They were contained in two letters; one from the Emperor, dated 1st January 1537, and the other from the Empress, dated 6th November 1536. The Decree accompanying the letters was dated 3rd November 1536.

With these documents Peranzures left Spain and arrived at Lima, and posted out to the Governor. When Pizarro saw the Decree which dealt with the boundaries, in order to free himself from the oaths he had taken, he summoned his captains and laid it before them and called upon them to obey the order of His Majesty. The captains took the Decree, placed it on their heads, kissed it, and declared they would obey it with all due reverence.

[This document ordered each Governor to keep within his

own limits, on pain of dismissal and fine until the boundary was settled and was signed

I the QUEEN.

JUANDE SAMANO (*secretary*). *Registered.* JUANDE LUYANDO BLAS DE SAYAVEDRA (*for the chancellor*). *Fr.G., servus.* Dr BELTRAN. Dr BERNAL. GUTIERREZ VELASQUEZ (*licentiate*).]

CHAPTER XLVII

How the captains of the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO having seen the Decree, and that by it HIS MAJESTY ordered that the Governors were to remain where they received it, resolved to write to the Adelantado to apprise him that they were no longer bound by the oaths they had taken.

WHEN the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro showed the Decree to the captains they determined to obey it, and to write a letter to the Adelantado, signed with their names, informing him that, though they had taken solemn oaths, the necessity for obeying what His Majesty ordered in a Decree just received prevented them from observing or keeping the oaths in any part. [This letter was drawn up in legal phraseology and signed by]

ALONZO DE ALVARADO
GONZALO PIZARRO
DIEGO DE URBINA
PEDRO DE CASTRO

FRANCISCO DE CHAVES
DIEGO DE ROJAS
PEDRO DE VERGARA
DIEGO DE AGÜERO

As soon as they had written it they sent it to Zangalla, and it gave the Adelantado very great annoyance that they should draw back from their agreement. He consulted Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, Sotelo, Juan de Sayavedra, Alonzo de Sotomayor, Francisco de Chaves and others as to what should be done. These all complained that as the Governor and his captains had broken their oath and word of honour so deceitfully, they had only made these agreements seeking their own

interests. They advised the Adelantado to write to the Governor and his captains, persuading them to adhere to their agreements, and that a closer guard be kept on Hernando Pizarro. So the Adelantado wrote to the Governor saying how surprised he had been at reading the letters after an agreement of peace and friendship had been made, and that it was a slight reason for breaking oaths so solemnly taken, and that surely the Governor would not like people to take him for a perjurer; and a reply was also written to the captains. When the Governor received this letter he was in Lima and Caxca¹ and he decided not to break the agreement: on the contrary, he ordered the following despatch of the Empress to the Adelantado to be sent to him.

The Queen. To Marshal Don Diego de Almagro, Governor of the province of Toledo. You know well the grant which the King Emperor our Lord ordered to be made to you, respecting the conquest and settlement of certain lands and provinces on the coast of the South Sea towards the East for 200 leagues towards the Strait of Magellan, commencing at the limit of the province granted to Don Francisco Pizarro. Now I am informed that with copies of certain of our Decrees which His Majesty ordered us to give you have gone with an armed force to the city of Cuzco, and that one Captain Soto has opposed your entrance to that city, and that, learning this, Don Francisco Pizarro is marching against you. This has displeased me. As you know, from one of our letters, that the reverend in Christ *Padre* Fray Don Tomás de Berlanga, Bishop of Tierra Firme is to settle the boundary between the two governments, I now order you to keep within the limits the same Bishop will assign to you, without entering those of Don Francisco Pizarro, and that you remain in perfect concord and friendship with him as you have done hitherto, for in that you will content me, and in the contrary event My Lord the Emperor and myself will deem ourselves ill served. Madrid 17 December 1587.

I, the QUEEN

by order of Her Majesty, JUAN DE SAMANO.

This rescript of Her Majesty was asked for by Peranzures as soon as he arrived in Spain, saying in his report that at

¹ Caxa-Marca.

the time when Hernando de Soto was lieutenant and Juan Pizarro was there, Almagro wanted to occupy the city of Cuzco and that if he returned from Chile he would do the same, and on this representation the rescript was given. The Governor sent it to the Adelantado at Zangalla that it might be obeyed, for it referred to the limits of the governments, and the Governor said he would obey it and that he would maintain concord and friendship as Her Majesty ordered. The Adelantado answered that he desired nothing else than to stay freely in the province Her Majesty had assigned to him; but that Cuzco and the other provinces he had occupied were within his limits. The Provincial Bobadilla, seeing that the negotiations were not tending to a good end, also issued a proclamation.

[This proposal by Bobadilla was that Cuzco should be delivered over to a neutral person until the limits had been finally decided by the pilots, meanwhile Almagro retiring to La Nasca (Yca, La Nasca and Comaña), also that Hernando Pizarro be liberated, and that the Governor should furnish a ship for the Adelantado to send home his despatches. In reply Almagro repudiated the authority of Bobadilla as Judge, accusing him of deceit and falsehood.]

CHAPTER XLVIII

How the accountant JUAN DE GUZMAN and the Alcalde DIEGO NUÑEZ DE MERCADO returned to the camp of DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO, and how finally some agreements were made.

[THE Adelantado took the advice of some of his captains, and sent Juan de Guzman and Diego Nuñez de Mercado to the camp of the Governor to endeavour to come to an agreement. The final settlement was that Almagro was to hold Cuzco until the King ordered otherwise, or the Bishop settled the frontier; that Hernando Pizarro should be liberated; that the

Adelantado would not impede the service of *repartimientos* belonging to citizens of Lima; and that the Governor would provide a ship for the Adelantado to send home his despatches.

Guzman and Mercado then returned to the Adelantado. As Almagro had arranged the liberation of Hernando Pizarro with Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, Juan de Sayavedra and Francisco de Chaves, he sent for Rodrigo Orgoñez and told him not to be disturbed that, without his advice, they had resolved to take a step which he had always opposed. To avoid further contention and establish peace, it had been decided to set Hernando Pizarro at liberty, that he might return to Spain, and present himself before the Emperor.]

When Orgoñez understood, his mortification could clearly be seen. He declared that he who did not keep his word in Spain, would not keep it in the Indies. To him, up till now, weapons had seemed unnecessary, but for the future it would be necessary to obtain and repair them. Then, raising his head, with the left hand he seized his beard and with his right he made the sign of cutting his throat; shouting "Alas for thee! Orgoñez! owing to your friendship for Almagro your throat will be cut." Then a soldier said, in a loud voice, so that everyone could hear him, "Until now, Almagro, there was no need for arms and I had no pike, but now I will make a double-edged one for we shall sorely need them." There was great excitement throughout the camp, the men saying that with Hernando Pizarro loosed out of prison there was no hope of agreement or peace, on the contrary war was very certain; and they stuck up the following in public places:

Almagro pide paz,
Los Pizarros, guerra, guerra,
Ellos todos morirán
Y otro mandará la tierra

[Almagro seeks peace,
The Pizarros war, war,
The former will all die,
The latter will rule the land.]

CHAPTER XLIX

How the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO released HERNANDO PIZARRO from prison, and how RODRIGO ORGOÑEZ did his best to hinder it.

THE Adelantado and his captains were now resolved on the policy of releasing Hernando Pizarro. But Orgoñez did all he could to prevent it, declaring that he should not be let out of prison, for he would at once seek for revenge for the insults he received when they entered Cuzco and during his imprisonment. Almagro answered to this that it was necessary to keep the agreement between himself and the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, and that Hernando Pizarro would have to take a solemn oath to keep the peace. Almagro then went to the prison accompanied by Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, Don Alonzo Enriquez, Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves and some others. Then Noguerol de Ulloa, who had charge of the prisoner, brought him out to the Adelantado. They embraced and some conversation passed between them. Almagro said that all that had gone before should be forgotten, and that they should rejoice at having reached an agreement, and put an end to dissensions. Hernando Pizarro answered graciously, and took an oath, by God and St Mary, and by the gospels, to abide by the agreement, and gave his word of honour in due form. After he had given the necessary securities Almagro took him to his lodgings, where there was a very great feast, and all the captains spoke in a most friendly way, as did Francisco de Godoy and Hernan Ponce de Leon, who were present. When Hernando Pizarro was about to set out for his brother's camp the Adelantado decided to send his son Diego with him, that Don Francisco Pizarro might know him. After some further conversation on the peace the Adelantado and Hernando Pizarro took leave of each other. Hernando was accompanied for half a league by all the principal persons in the camp, and thence he went on with young Diego, Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, Juan de Sayavedra,

Francisco de Chaves, Pedro de los Rios, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Vasco de Guevara, Don Alónzo Enriquez, the alcalde Diego Nuñez de Mercado, and the secretary Sosa, and others.

On arriving near the Governor's camp, Don Francisco Pizarro and all his captains came out to receive him. The joy it gave the Governor to see his brother cannot be described. Hernando rejoiced to see so many gentlemen and arquebusmen and saluted them joyfully. The Governor received the gentlemen who had come from the Adelantado's camp very cordially, and gave some jewels to them and to young Diego. Nevertheless some were of opinion that they should be all seized, and that none should return to Chincha. However, it was decided otherwise, and they returned with a letter to the Adelantado. Coming to Almagro they told him what had happened, and that it was their belief that Hernando Pizarro would not break the agreements, for that he would not willingly be looked upon as a perjurer. Almagro set out at once for Zangalla where he set about founding the pueblo which was originally to have been at Chincha.

CHAPTER L

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO moved his camp and his captains to the valley of Chincha.

It is notorious, and asserted by everyone, that after Hernando Pizarro had returned to the Governor's camp nothing was thought of but how to take revenge on Almagro, to prepare the troops, and get ready the weapons. No one thought of peace; all were anxious to get ready for war. Sentries and watchmen were ordered to be stationed in all directions. Scouts were sent towards Chincha, and when it was ascertained that the Adelantado had departed, the Pizarros moved the whole of their forces to that valley, and pitched their camp in it. On arrival there it is reported that Hernando Pizarro said to the Governor that it was not consistent with his authority that Almagro should remain unpunished for the

offences he committed in Cuzco, where, after robbing him, Hernando, of his property he had treated him with the cruelty of which the Governor had been told. He must be followed and captured, for if not all that had been done would be as nothing. The Governor replied that he did not fail to see how bad the conduct of Almagro had been, and that he deserved punishment, but although he felt great anger against him he also feared the anger of the King and his punishment. Hernando replied that it was not a time to stop for that, and that when Almagro entered Cuzco, he never considered how the King might take it.

After talking over past events the Governor, wishing the Adelantado every ill, sent for a notary and, before all his captains, caused an instrument to be drawn up, dated December 9th, 1537. [After reciting the proceedings of the Adelantado as culpable, the document declares that a remedy for the evils thus caused is necessary. It then refers to the age and infirmity of the Governor, rendering him unequal to the task, and to the qualities of his brother Hernando, and the confidence His Majesty places in him. Hernando is then called upon to pacify the country, before returning to Spain with the gold of the royal fifths.] Hernando then said that:

His Majesty sent him to those kingdoms as his messenger, and with his royal decrees, to collect the treasure of the royal fifths and for other business connected with his service, and that he had been detained in Cuzco first by the rising of the natives and then by the imprisonment by Almagro who, entering Cuzco by force, detained him for eight months and, as was notorious, prevented him from performing the duties entrusted to him by His Majesty. Now he was able to comply with His Majesty's orders to collect the royal fifths, and he wished to go and do his duty.

He then called upon Don Francisco Pizarro in no way to detain him, but to leave him free to collect the treasure, and to give him all necessary help. As regards war the Governor had many captains in his camp who well knew how to conduct it, with a view to the King's service and for the pacification of these kingdoms. All of this he gave as his reply, full of guile and not sincere in any one of his protestations.

CHAPTER LI

Of other things that passed between the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO and HERNANDO PIZARRO his brother, and how they were settled, and how a demand was again made on ALMAGRO to comply with the order brought by PERANZURES.

HERNANDO PIZARRO was glad to think that before long he could attack the men of Chile. In order that he might be justified, and that those in the Governor's camp might believe that he wanted to go to Spain with the royal fifths, it is said that he arranged that he should be ordered to remain, and so the Governor got a notary to draw up an order that Hernando Pizarro was by no means to go to Spain, that a fleet must come to carry the gold securely, and while he was requesting His Majesty to send the fleet as a protection against corsairs, Hernando would have time to do service in this realm; besides, there was no vessel in the port of Lima in which he could go.

For these reasons he was told, in His Majesty's name, that he was not to leave these kingdoms until further orders.

Hernando Pizarro thinking that he had now shown sufficient displeasure at having to stay, told the Governor that he had no other wish than to serve His Majesty, and seeing the need he had of help in pacifying the country, he would stay, and another trustworthy person could take home the treasure.

As soon as this was settled, Hernando Pizarro represented to the Governor that the Adelantado should again be required to comply with the Decree. The Governor, therefore, sent a gentleman named Eugenio Moscoso, with a notary named Morcillo, to Zangalla, to require the Adelantado to obey the Royal Decree respecting the boundary, and to depart from all the territory he [the Governor] had conquered and settled, and, in case of refusal, he [Almagro] would be responsible for the evils and bloodshed that might ensue.

The Adelantado and his adherents, seeing that the Governor was now beginning to make demands, thought that all that

had gone before had been trickery, and it behoved them to be on their guard. After taking the opinions of the licentiate Prado and others he replied to the messengers from the Governor that he was ready to obey the Royal Decree, and in compliance with it would not move from the place where the Decree reached him, and he demanded that Pizarro should do the same. The messengers then returned to Chinchá. The Adelantado was enraged that the sworn agreements should be broken. He called together Orgoñez, Diego and Gomez de Alvarado, Don Cristóbal Cortesía, Don Alonzo Enriquez, Juan de Sayavedra, Vasco de Guevara, Alonzo de Montemayor, Diego Nuñez de Mercado, Juan de Guzman and some others, and discussed with them what he expected Hernando Pizarro would do, for some friends had written from Chinchá to warn them of his hostile intentions, and how he intended to attack them with all the Governor's force. The Adelantado now regretted that he had released his prisoner. As there was now no help for it, it was decided after much discussion that Diego de Alvarado, with some cavalry, should go to the city of Cuzco as Lieutenant-General and that, when it was certain that the Governor would attack them, the money and valuables of Gonzalo and Hernando Pizarro should be seized and divided among the soldiers. The treasurer Alonzo Riquelme was present when this order to Diego de Alvarado was given, and said to the Adelantado, "Why, Sir, would you do such an ugly thing as that." Rodrigo Orgoñez answered and said that nothing would be taken at present, until it was known what the Governor would do. It was also settled by Almagro and his captains to go at once to Huaytara, which was a fort, and there renew an attempt for peace. The treasurer Riquelme and some officials with the King's treasure, as well as some other Spaniards, were left at Zangalla. The Adelantado, with the rest of his forces, marched to Huaytara where he pitched his camp and agreed to wait and see what could be done. The camp was on the side of a mountain which certainly was rugged and laborious to ascend. The principal road went over the high and most difficult part, and there was another path which could also be ascended, though with great difficulty.

Both are overhung by rocky cliffs, and if those who were on the summit were on their guard, it could not easily be carried.

After despatching Diego de Alvarado for Cuzco, the Adelantado arrived at Huaytara, and said to Rodrigo Orgoñez that he could now see how the negotiations stood, and that they must carefully consider their own position, so that their enemies might not be able to take revenge on them.

A sufficient guard should be placed on the summit of the pass, and the hill should be trenched where the road crosses, so that the enemy might not be able to surprise them. Orgoñez replied that he would see to this, although he quite expected that Hernando Pizarro would contrive to gain his ends. Saying this he ordered Francisco de Chaves to take up a post where the road emerges with fifty men, and the Inca Paulo to remain with him with all his Indians, and to collect a large number of stones in great heaps, to throw down on the enemies if they approached. Paulo was to trench the hill and break up the road, which was done.

Another captain, named Salinas, was stationed on the other road with thirty men, and this detachment and those who were with Francisco de Chaves, were to take special care to post sentries and keep a good look-out, so as to give warning of the approach of anyone.

Having made these dispositions, Orgoñez returned to the place where the rest of the force was encamped, giving them special orders to keep a sharp look-out and be ready for anything that might happen.

CHAPTER LII

How when the messengers returned from the Governor's camp they came to the valley of Lima and Caxca, and how the settlement made there by ALMAGRO was abandoned, and what further happened between the rival camps.

WAR was now declared in such wise that all could understand it, and it was so carried on by both sides that no quarter was given and no fear was shown for God or for the King, and

each side strove to overcome and conquer the other, the authors of these seditions each contending for mastery over the whole country without tolerating an equal or comrade. Having little fear of God they waged public war, forming camps and displaying banners, and fighting as fiercely as if one side had been Venetians and the other Genoese, or as if they had been Turks and Spaniards.

Hernando Pizarro (for now nothing was done in the camp but what he ordered) having sent Eugenio de Moscoso, as I have said, to demand from Almagro that he should obey the decree brought by Peranzures, and Moscoso having returned with the answer, he made a report to the Governor. Hernando then said to his brother, that he ought to return at once to the valley of Lima and Caxca. This was done, and arriving there in the middle of December, the Governor remained there for two months. The Governor gave orders that the town which Almagro had founded there should be abandoned, as a frivolous thing, done without authority and in territory beyond his jurisdiction. From Los Reyes Hernando Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado took great care to send out scouts and spies towards the country near Huaytara, where Almagro had his camp; and there was no neglect of duty.

The Adelantado, hearing that the power of Pizarro and his army was increasing day by day, sent for Juan de Guzman and Diego Nuñez de Mercado, and ordered them to go to Lima and Caxca, and assure the Governor that he was neither for war nor dissensions, nor would his side break the pact.

Although the messengers went and returned no negotiation followed. At this time several men of Chile sallied forth from the camp at Huaytara in search of provisions. The same was done from the camp of the Governor in the same direction without either party being aware of the proximity of the other. Then the men of Chile came near those of Pachacamac and seeing they were not their comrades, they attacked them and wounded three, taking one prisoner, whose name was Felipe Boscan. They took his horse from him and then returned to Huaytara. The wounded men returned to report to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, and he ordered a party

of horse to go to the aid of Boscan, but they were too late to effect a rescue. A few days afterwards Orgoñez sent seventy horsemen and thirty foot and accompanied them himself in order to collect food for the camp. The same thing was done from the Governor's camp, but Hernando Pizarro ordered his brother Gonzalo and the captain Diego de Rojas to set out with a hundred horsemen. Orgoñez had many Indians, intending to descend into the valley of Yca. He ordered some of them to look out for the approach of any Spaniards from Lima, and as soon as Gonzalo Pizarro and Diego de Rojas were near these returned in all haste to report to Orgoñez. When he heard of their approach, believing that they were more numerous than was actually the case, he ordered the infantry to leave the road and retreat to the heights of Huaytara by the roughest track, while the horsemen were to draw rein and retreat, that they might not be overtaken by the enemy, and this was done. Then Gonzalo Pizarro and Diego de Rojas ordered their men to put spurs to their horses in pursuit, but, although the pursuit was hot, Orgoñez got away without losing any of his men. But he lost all his baggage and supplies, with his servants. Gonzalo Pizarro and Diego de Rojas, seeing that nothing more could be done, returned to the camp, and reported what had happened.

Hernando Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado suggested to the Governor that some active men should be sent to form an ambush, and to seize any of the enemies' scouts, so as to find out what Almagro intended to do. This proposal seemed good to the Governor and he ordered it to be carried out.

Twenty foot soldiers were sent, with orders to conceal themselves in the sierra, for the captain Francisco de Chaves sent out scouts every day towards Lima to watch for the enemy. While the men sent by Hernando Pizarro were in ambush, Francisco de Chaves ordered two horsemen and four foot soldiers to go along the lowland.

The men of Chile were travelling without any suspicion, while those of Pachacamac were concealed in a dense thicket. One of the latter, named Lope Martin, climbing up a tree, saw the men of Chile approaching, and quickly warned

his companions. With arms ready, they came as near to them as possible under cover of the wood, and took them by surprise, making them prisoners. They drove those on foot to the Lima river and Caxca by side tracks, and one of them was drowned while crossing. The horsemen were also taken and brought to the camp of Pizarro.

CHAPTER LIII

How the Governor ordered two Spaniards to reconnoitre the approach to the Sierra, and how the Pachacamac party gained the pass of Huaytara from the men of Chile.

THE two Spaniards who were taken prisoners were taken to Lima and Caxca, and were brought before the Governor. One of them, named Maldonado, thought that Hernando Pizarro would hang them, but the Governor ordered them both to be sent prisoners to the City of the Kings. The other five scouts returned to Huaytara and reported to Almagro the capture of their comrades.

Taking counsel with his captains, the Adelantado resolved to send a report to His Majesty of everything that had happened, and with the approval of all present he chose the accountant, Juan de Guzman, as his messenger. To prevent the Governor from detaining him, Almagro gave him a Decree signed by the Empress, that if anyone wished to report matters relating to the Royal Service he might do so, with grave penalties for hindering him. The Decree also said that the officers of the Royal Treasury could always travel to carry the same information. It was thought that armed with this Decree, Juan de Guzman might persuade the Governor [to let them pass]. That there might be a witness to what the Governor might retort, Almagro ordered the licentiate Castro, a clergyman and apostolic notary, to accompany Guzman. These two together with a servant of Guzman started with Orgoñez, who was going to forage for the camp, but they soon took different ways.

Many Indian spies from the Governor's camp were on the look out to report any movement of the enemy, and when these caught sight of Orgoñez they returned in haste to report. Hernando Pizarro at once sent out a body of cavalry, who encountered Guzman and Castro and hurriedly asked them, how many were coming after them. They replied that there were only themselves. Hernando Pizarro now came up with thirty horsemen, and asked Juan de Guzman who were those behind him, to which he replied that no one was coming but himself and Castro. Hernando Pizarro took them to the Governor, who rode out half a league to meet them, so as to avoid the excitement their arrival might cause in the camp.

When the Governor saw them, he asked Juan de Guzman, with some anger, what he had come for. Guzman replied that he came with a Royal Decree, allowing him to go to Spain to advise His Majesty of things concerning the Royal Service. The Governor said, "Then present it, and let us see what it is." Juan de Guzman gave it to a notary named Morcillo, for him to read. After he had heard it, the Governor said that they would remain until further orders were given. He then left them in charge of some horsemen. In this way were Juan de Guzman and the licentiate Castro detained. News then came that Orgoñez had taken and killed some of Pizarro's followers, so the Governor ordered Juan de Guzman to be put in chains, where he remained, until afterwards he got out.

After these things had happened, the Governor ordered two men named Lope Martin and Fabian Gonzalez to go, with three Indians, natives of that province, and examine the two roads leading to Huaytara where Almagro's camp was placed, and, without being detected to find out all about it, so that he the Governor might know what it would be best to do. They agreed to undertake this duty, and started at dawn, making such good speed that they reached the summit of the mountain, a distance of two leagues, and were there by sunrise. Lope Martin made out that there were enemies on the summit. After they had made out the difficulty of the roads and had spied out the way by which the forces of the Governor might approach, they returned with all speed by the way they

came, so as not to be captured, for the enemy had got sight of them, and began to chase them with much noise, believing them to be spies, but were unable to overtake them. They then returned to the valley of Lima, and reported what they had seen to the Governor. They asserted that the pass could be taken, but with much difficulty and some loss. Hernando Pizarro told them to say nothing about it in the camp, as he intended to arrange presently to take the pass.

In the camp of Almagro, when Guzman and Castro did not return, it was concluded that they had been imprisoned. Orgoñez ordered Francisco de Chaves and Salinas to take every precaution in guarding the height so that the enemy might not capture it, and he then returned to the camp. After the return of Lope Martin and his companion Hernando Pizarro and other captains spoke to the Governor, saying that it was time to show the men of Chile how mistaken they were, and to chastise them for their insolence, and that he should at once order a force to march and capture the height of Huaytara. The Governor replied that he was well content that this should be done.

At this time Don Francisco Pizarro had appointed, as quartermaster-general, Pedro de Valdivia, who was well versed in military affairs. The whole force was got ready to march with the Governor, without announcing by which road it was to go. The next day the captains set out with their men, having scouts in advance to report what they could see. Before they left Lima and Caxca, a soldier, actuated by avarice, undertook a great journey and committed a disgraceful act. This was to go to the camp of Almagro and tell him of the imprisonment of Juan de Guzman, and of the intention to attack him. Almagro, when he heard this news, ordered Encinas (that was the soldier's name) to be given 2000 gold *pesos*, that he might be the more keen to come with further news to get a second reward. Rodrigo Orgoñez strengthened the force at the head of the pass where Francisco de Chaves was stationed, and he sent Francisco de Sotelo, with fifty horsemen, to guard the point where the road emerges.

On the day when the forces of the Governor left the valley

of Lima and Caxca, they marched more than four leagues and arrived at the foot of the mountains. It was arranged that the Governor should halt here with 200 men, all the rest following Hernando Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado, with the two guides who had spied out the land, in front. When they reached the place where the ascent began Lope Martin said to Hernando Pizarro, "This is the ascent to Huaytara, and there are two paths which lead to the summit; decide what course is to be followed." It was resolved that Hernando Pizarro, Alonzo de Alvarado, Diego de Rojas, Pedro de Vergara, Peranzures and Gonzalo Pizarro with their men and one of the guides named Fabian Gonzalez should ascend by one road, the horses being left in the plain, as no use could be made of them. It was the hour of the first night watch when the ascent was commenced. By the other road went the quartermaster, Pedro de Valdivia, Captain Castro, Diego de Urbina, Ruy Lopez, Orihuela, and many others, with Lope Martin as their guide, and they marched with a will. The ascent was very long and difficult and some of the captains were so tired and worn out that they could not reach the summit; but the cutting of the path did not prevent Valdivia and Castro from climbing to the summit of the mountain. The first that reached it was Lope Martin, next arrived Juan Alonzo Palomino and Orihuela, closely followed by Castro. On the part of Almagro watchers and sentries were placed, and a very great quantity of stones was collected, to throw down when they should espy their enemies. But when those few came up and began to shout "Pizarro! Pizarro!" with loud voices, the sentries, thinking that the whole force of Pizarro was upon them, fled to the main body under Cristoval de Sotelo who asked them why they ran away. They replied that the whole army of Pizarro was coming up and were all already on the summit. Sotelo replied that brave men did not turn their backs and run away without seeing the enemy. He was preparing to arm when he saw that Francisco de Chaves and Salinas had left their posts and were running away. The Inca Paulo had done the same. As the men of Chile were retreating in great confusion, they abandoned many horses and weapons, so as

to run more easily. Seeing them fleeing, the Pachacamac followed and captured four, in addition to a scout they had caught before. Chaves arrived where Orgoñez had mustered a hundred horsemen, and was about to go and see what had happened on the heights. When the latter was told that they had been occupied by Pizarro's troops he was much concerned and, pulling at his beard in a great rage, used strong language against Francisco de Chaves, saying that they had lost the pass owing to the fault of a coward. If he had been a good soldier it was impossible that Pizarro's men could take it so easily, that a captain did ill who trusted an arduous service to a man without experience.

Joined by Cristoval de Sotelo they mustered 250 horse and foot. There was much discussion on the course to be taken. Some voices were for turning on the enemy and giving battle; to defeat them or sacrifice their own lives. Orgoñez looked upon this as rather an act of temerity than of fortitude and ordered a retreat, a good part of the day having passed. The troops of Pizarro hastened up the pass, very glad to find it so easy to gain a position which seemed so formidable. They said that the fortunes of Almagro had now come to an end, since he had lost so strong a position through laxity and carelessness. Orgoñez sent a message to Almagro to retreat by the road, as they had lost the pass, and that he would join him at a place further on. When the Adelantado received the news, he was much perturbed, expecting Hernando Pizarro to cut him off. He ordered a retreat with all speed, to join Orgoñez. When this news came it was so late that the sun was setting, and they travelled all night, suffering intense cold. Next day they pressed onwards, and at noon joined Orgoñez, with all his force, and came to a halt.

It is said that Francisco de Chaves had treated with the Pizarros to let them gain the Huaytara pass, and that he knew of their approach. Some affirm it and others deny it. Some even say that when Diego Almagro the lad killed the Marquis, Francisco de Chaves, being angry about something, said, "No one offends me without being paid, and your father once offended me and I paid him well." I know not the truth, I

only repeat what was said. What I believe is that Francisco de Chaves did not know of the approach of Pizarro, nor intrigue with him, for that would have given rise to a friendship between them, which never existed.

CHAPTER LIV

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO went up the pass of Huaytara, following the Adelantado who proposed to turn and give battle, and what else happened.

WHEN the pass of Huaytara was gained, the quartermaster, with the captains Hernando Pizarro, Alonzo de Alvarado, Gonzalo Pizarro, Diego de Rojas, Pedro de Vergara and Castro assembled their forces; they had seized all they could find, including horses and flocks. Alvarado said to Hernando Pizarro that they ought to wait until the Governor had ascended the pass with the rest of the forces, when they could either advance or act otherwise as seemed best to him, and Hernando Pizarro agreed with him. In due course the Governor arrived with the rest of the forces, much pleased that his captains had taken the pass without loss of life. He embraced them all, and asked how they had fared when the darkness of night came on during the march. They replied that in his service they did not consider it hard work to march either by day or night. After this conversation it was resolved to pursue Almagro, and they began to march under arms towards Huaytara. They advanced until they had passed the other part of Almagro's late encampment, when they saw two men approaching them in great haste, who, on observing the danger they were in, deserted, and now came to Pizarro's camp. One was named Manjarres, and the other Sancho de Reinosá. They said that Almagro was returning to Cuzco, and when the Governor and his captains heard the news they resolved to follow, thinking they could defeat the enemy. The Adelantado, with his forces, had halted in the uninhabited

country beyond Huaytara where there was much snow, causing great fatigue to the aged Adelantado, who was very ill with boils. Yet he and all his men were of one mind, eager for war, and caring nothing for the cold and the great snowy peaks surrounding them. They waited a whole day and night, ready to give battle to the enemy, having first sent all the baggage on ahead, so that they might retreat more easily if they should be beaten. The ensigns carried the colours, and the principal cavaliers kept near the Adelantado.

Things being in this state, and acting on the information of the two men who had fled from Almagro's camp, the Governor's forces continued the pursuit, the banners being borne before them. In order the better to justify their cause, and to claim that they were doing service for the King, they carried the standard with the royal arms and the imperial eagle of the Caesar, as if forsooth it was by his order that these wars were waged. They went on carelessly, without their tents to protect them from the heavy falls of snow, and they could not endure the cold. There was another trouble. As they came up from the low country and had not been in the cold and snowy heights for a long time, facing the icy winds, they were attacked by giddiness, just as those who have never been to sea before are seasick and suffer great anguish: so it befell these soldiers. The disease so affected them that they vomited, staggered, and threw down their arms. The captains, with their desire to be avenged on the men of Chile, went on ahead, and, with the Governor, slept very near to where Almagro had halted. They passed the night in great misery, without tents or food, exposed to icy winds and heavy falls of snow. It was only by a lucky chance that they were not all frozen to death. Surely there is no war so cruel as that fought between people of one nation.

The captains Vasco de Guevara, Cristóbal de Sotelo, and others, wanted to turn upon Pizarro's forces, as they must be jaded and could easily be defeated, and many agreed with this opinion. Orgoñez was opposed to it, saying, as it was reported, that it was better to sleep comfortably, and other things. Out of respect for him the plan was not adopted, and it may be taken

as certain that this was the reason why the Pizarros were not defeated, for the victory would have been with the men of Chile, as the forces of the Governor were so worn out and in such disorder, and not more than three leagues distant. As they decided not to turn upon their enemies they went on again with all speed, and reached the place after dark where their servants had pitched the tents, where they rested.

CHAPTER LV

How the Governor and his people suffered much during that night, and how he decided to return to the lowlands, and how DIEGO DE AGÜERO, riding over the country with twenty horsemen, lost two of his men.

THE Governor Pizarro, his captains and men, slept that night on the lofty wilds of Huaytara, well provided with snow and cold. Seeing that he could not overtake the Adelantado, the Governor decided not to go further, being without service, tents or any other appliances for rest. He determined to return to the valley of Yca where they would decide upon their future plans. Hernando Pizarro, Alonzo de Alvarado, and the other captains agreed; but to see whether Almagro was still near, the captain Diego de Agüero was sent, with twenty horsemen, to reconnoitre. Diego de Agüero did so. Certainly if the advice of Vasco de Guevara and Sotelo had been taken, and Pizarro had been attacked that night, he would have been routed without much loss. Diego de Agüero went towards the camp of Almagro. Great care had been taken in the disposal of sentries and look-out men, and as Agüero advanced with his men in good order, he was seen by the men of Chile, and Orgoñez had an ambush prepared in hopes of capturing some of the enemy, while his whole force was armed and ready for battle. Agüero was surprised in the ambush, and two of his men, Tomás Vásquez and Antonio de Orihuela, were captured.

Agüero then turned back with the others to report to the Governor, and though he was followed, he suffered no further loss, but galloping on soon overtook the Governor, who was already on the move. He regretted the capture of Tomás Vásquez and Orihuela, and continued his descent to the valley of Yca.

Juan de Guzman, who had been left under arrest at Lima, escaped from prison and went to join Almagro.

When Pizarro arrived in the valley of Yca with all his forces, he established his camp there, and ordered the natives to supply him with provisions. Hernando Pizarro seeing that Almagro was now far distant, and had it in his power to proceed to Cuzco, where the war must be finished, suggested to the Governor that this enterprise should be entrusted to him, and that he should proceed to Cuzco and recover it, and that the magistrates should recognize him as Governor, in the name of His Majesty, and if Almagro resisted him and tried to prevent this from taking effect, he should punish him. As the hatred that the Governor now felt for Almagro was bitter, and he detested him so intensely, he not only agreed to what his brother advised, but said that his Government reached to the Straits of Magellan, and that it must be defended at the point of the lance, against Almagro or any other person who might aspire to rule it without royal authority.

Taking counsel with Alonzo de Alvarado, Diego de Agüero, *Padre* García Díaz, *Padre* Fray Juan de Olías, Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Antonio Picardo his secretary, Peranzures and others, he said that he found himself growing old, very weary, and full of infirmities, and resolved to appoint his brother Gonzalo Pizarro to be his Captain-General, with orders, if Almagro persisted in holding the city of Cuzco, to drive him out by force of arms, and do what else should be desirable for H.M.'s service. They all replied that, as their desire was to serve the King, they approved what the Governor proposed, and as his age was great and he was weary with illness, he should return to the City of the Kings, entrusting his powers to Hernando Pizarro to subdue the country and hold the lieutenancy of Cuzco as he held it before, and this was

done. As it was time to account to His Majesty for his treasure in these kingdoms, which amounted to more than 600,000 *pesos* of gold, it was arranged, by the advice of Hernando Pizarro, that this treasure should be sent to Spain in charge of Diego de Fuenmayor, brother of the licentiate Fuenmayor, President of the Audience of Española. With him letters were sent to His Majesty and to his Council.

When Tomás Vásquez and Orihuela were captured Orgoñez was informed by them that the Governor with all his forces was moving down to the lowlands meaning to ascend again from La Nasca to the Lucanes on the way to Cuzco. On hearing this Orgoñez rode on to overtake the Adelantado, who was two leagues in front and suffering much from his disease. On being so informed, he took the opinions of his captains, and it was resolved to make for Vilcas, where supplies were plentiful, it being a fertile province. They then could ascertain what route would be taken by Pizarro's army to reach Cuzco, and if it should be by Abancay or Apurimac, cut the bridges and devastate the country in such a way that there would be no provisions left. This being resolved, they set out on their march and arrived in the province of Vilcas without anything happening worth mention.

Diego de Alvarado had already arrived at Cuzco, and told Gabriel de Rojas and others what had taken place between the two Governors, that Pizarro was coming against them, and that they should make ready with their arms and horses to help the Adelantado, and defend themselves against the vengeance of Hernando Pizarro.

[*For Chapters LVI and LVII see Appendix A.*]

CHAPTER LVIII

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO having committed the business of Cuzco to HERNANDO PIZARRO, and appointed GONZALO PIZARRO to be his General, returned to visit his government.

THE Governor having decided to send Hernando Pizarro to Cuzco, called a meeting of all who were in his camp, soldiers as well as captains, and said that his age and increasing infirmities prevented him from advancing to chastise the forces of Almagro, but it would give him the greatest satisfaction if they would follow the lead of his brothers. They all answered that they were contented to serve under his brothers as he desired. As the citizens of Lima had to return with the Governor, Peranzures was appointed to a captaincy in place of Diego de Agüero. Eugenio de Moscoso was also given a captaincy. Francisco de Orellana became Ensign-general, Villalba was Sergeant Major, and for Captain of artillery...¹.

These things being settled, the Governor ordered his secretary, Antonio Picado, to draw up commissions and powers for his brothers, and some would say that he left several names blank. When he had received his orders, Hernando Pizarro, with all the captains and soldiers, left the valley of Yca. They took with them no small number of Indians bound together, and left those valleys devastated, and many of the natives dead, owing to the robberies and extortions of the Spaniards, which were more than I am able to relate. Hernando Pizarro set out with his laden Indians and 700 men, horse and foot; many of them looking forward to the sacking of Cuzco and to the partition of the provinces among them. Before Hernando Pizarro left the valley, as there were several learned persons in his army who wanted peace and tranquillity and hated the war, they advised him to be moderate and avoid spilling Spanish blood, for enough had been shed

¹ Blank in the MS.

at the hands of the Indians during the insurrection, and to act otherwise would not be serving God or the King.

Hernando Pizarro answered that the war was caused by Almagro, that he, Hernando, was at Cuzco in peace, and without any feeling of enmity to the men of Chile; but already, with banners displayed and drums beating, Almagro had declared himself as the enemy of the Pizarros. Therefore either the party of Almagro or his own party must be crushed, and one authority remain. There was another very weighty reason why the flames of war should be kindled. In the camp were many of those who had served with the captain Alvarado at the bridge of Abancay, and were molested and ill-treated by the men of Chile. These were so enraged against those who ill-used them, and so bent upon vengeance, that they longed for the hour of meeting their enemies. A great part of his force was composed of these men of Abancay, who came in the hope that the men of Chile might be defeated.

Then Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, the quartermaster Valdivia, and the captains Alonzo de Alvarado, Peranzures, Diego de Rojas, Eugenio de Moscoso, Pedro de Vergara, and Pedro de Castro¹, with their forces, marched from the valley of Yca.

When the Adelantado arrived at Vilcas he found abundant supplies, and he remained there with his force for thirty days. He then had a consultation with his captains and principal advisers, as to whether they should turn back and occupy the city of Lima, or continue the march to Cuzco, and there await Hernando Pizarro and give him battle. Rodrigo Orgoñez, being at the meeting, said that the Adelantado had not seen fit to take his advice or to give heed to his opinion, but had always acted in opposition to what he advised. Because he had not cut off Hernando Pizarro's head that captain was now able to make war against him, bringing with him Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado who were equally desirous of his dishonour and destruction, and they came with an increased army led by many captains and valiant men; that according to the news brought by Tomás Vásquez, Hernando Pizarro must now have passed Las Soras, and on

¹ As well as Diego de Urbina, Pedro de Portugal and Pedro Puertocarrero.

that account his advice was to turn back and march on Lima, where they could get supplies of arms, and increase their numbers (for men were never wanting in that city) and that a ship should be sent to His Majesty with a true report of all that had happened. Then turning his face to Almagro he urged him to do what he advised. Pedro de Lerma, Salinas, and Cristóbal de Sotelo were of opinion that they should turn back on Lima, holding the advice of Orgoñez to be good. Juan de Sayavedra, Vasco de Guevara, Francisco de Chaves, and Gomez de Alvarado and others said that it would be a great mistake to turn back on Lima, and that they should go on to Cuzco, the place which was certainly best suited for their affairs; then if Hernando Pizarro or any other captain came against them, they could defend themselves. Some of the captains and gentlemen were discontented, and wanted the Adelantado to return to Lima, fearing an encounter with Hernando Pizarro because of the large force he had under his command, for all being Spaniards the victory must be on the side of the greater number. Some of those in Almagro's camp fled to the party of Pizarro.

CHAPTER LIX

How HERNANDO PIZARRO marched, with his forces, towards the city of Cuzco, and what happened in his camp, as well as in that of ALMAGRO.

HERNANDO PIZARRO, with all his forces, marched over the deserts until he arrived in the valley of La Nasca, where he provisioned his troops, and seized many poor Indians to carry his loads. From La Nasca he took the mountain road to the Lucanes, and thence to Parinacocha, where the army rested for some days, and collected supplies. He then marched over the uninhabited and snowy heights until, at the end of some days, they arrived in the province of the Aymaraes.

The Adelantado's disease caused him such pain that he thought he was dying, and his captains, seeing the danger he incurred by remaining in so cold a climate, determined to

seek for some warm valley where their leader might be cured. There was a small valley called Yungas on this same river of Vilcas and thither they took him. For a day and a night he suffered so much that he could not speak and became insensible, not recognizing anyone. All believed that he would die. But his fortune; or I should rather say his sins, did not admit of his finding death in that way, though he gained little by the prolongation of his life, and in death all are equal. When they saw him so weak and ill, his servants and friends wept, lamenting their misfortune. During this time his sense returned, he seemed to be getting a little better, and he gave thanks to God that he was not to die at that time, so that his servants and friends might not fall into the power of the Pizarros.

While the Adelantado was in that province of Vilcas there came news that Hernando Pizarro had crossed the sierra and was on the road to Cuzco. There was a consultation, some advising a rapid march to Cuzco, others an advance on Lima. Although there was much debate, it was finally decided to return, with all speed, to Cuzco. From Vilcas the Adelantado sent Rodrigo de Lora to the Aymaraes to obtain information respecting the advance of Hernando Pizarro. Rodrigo de Lora proceeded with diligence and arrived in the province of Los Aymaraes before Hernando Pizarro.

The following captains and other principal officers of Almagro considered it necessary to reach Cuzco with all possible speed and before Hernando Pizarro, so as to have time to obtain entire possession of the city and prepare its defence, namely:

RODRIGO ORGOÑEZ ¹	DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ ⁶
JUAN DE SAYAVEDRA ²	DON CRISTÓBAL CORTESÍA
VASCO DE GUEVARA ²	DON ALONZO DE MONTEMAYOR ²
PEDRO DE LERMA ³	RUY DIAZ ⁷
FRANCISCO DE CHAVES ⁴	NOGUEROL DE ULLOA
CRISTÓBAL DE SOTELO ⁵	GOMEZ DE ALVARADO ²
SALINAS ⁸	

¹ Killed at Las Salinas.

² Left the Almagro party after the murder of Pizarro.

³ Murdered after Las Salinas.

⁴ Killed by Herrada after the murder of Pizarro. (He is called Pedro de Chaves in the Spanish text.)

⁵ Murdered by Garcia de Alvarado at Cuzco.

⁶ Returned to Spain.

⁷ Killed after Las Salinas.

⁸ Killed at Las Salinas.

So they said this to the Adelantado, and it was agreed by all that they should start. From Vilcas they went to the bridge of Abancay, and thence to that over the Apurimac, without any incident worth recording, except that several men fled to the camp of Pizarro. From the Apurimac bridge Orgoñez sent five soldiers, with some Indians, to the bridge of Cacha, to ascertain whether Hernando Pizarro was going that way. The rest of the force proceeded to Cuzco, where they found Diego de Alvarado in office as Chief Magistrate. When he arrived at Cuzco, Orgoñez gave out that Hernando Pizarro was a coward, and had not the courage to offer any battle whatever. Orgoñez did not say this because he was ignorant of the personal valour of Hernando Pizarro, but designedly, so that some, inspired with indignation, might say things which, fearing lest they might incur punishment from Hernando Pizarro, would confirm them as his enemies.

CHAPTER LX

Of what happened to HERNANDO PIZARRO to the time of reaching the bridge of Cacha, how he captured RODRIGO DE LORA in Los Aymaraes, and five others at the bridge, and how ALMAGRO obtained the friendship of the people of Cuzco.

ON arriving near the province of Los Aymaraes, Hernando Pizarro heard that there was a Spaniard in the village of Totorá. This was Rodrigo de Lora, sent by the Adelantado from Vilcas. When he arrived in Los Aymaraes, Hernando Pizarro sent some soldiers to capture him and bring him into his presence. He also sent Indians to cut wood for making pikes, and as many were made as were wanted, under the superintendence of the quartermaster, Pedro de Valdivia. Those who were sent to arrest Lora did it cleverly, and he was brought before Hernando Pizarro, who asked him what he knew of Almagro? He replied that he was already in Cuzco.

By this time Cermeño had joined Hernando Pizarro as well as others who had fled from the camp of Almagro.

While they were in Los Aymaraes, Hernando Pizarro took the opinions of the captains whether they should cross the Apurimac by the royal road, or by Cotabamba, or by the bridge of Cacha. Alvarado said that they ought not to go by the bridge of Cotabamba because the road was very bad, and the men of Chile had doubtless cut up the approaches so that it would be difficult to cross the river there. In addition to this the country had been devastated, and it would be impossible to obtain provisions. It would, therefore, be better to cross the river at Cacha. Some of the captains agreed with Alvarado. Others maintained that it would be a mistake to go to Cacha and leave the royal road which would soon bring them to Cuzco; while the journey to Cacha would be over unpeopled snow-covered tracks, so difficult that it would cause excessive hardship to the soldiers. If they did not go by the royal road of the Incas, they should go by Cotabamba, a shorter route and one requiring less labour.

Hernando Pizarro was not influenced by these arguments. He had determined to go by no other way than by the bridge of Cacha; and he announced his decision that all might know it. After he had provided all necessaries and received the pikes, he proceeded to the village of Totorá, marching in good order and prepared for anything that might befall. From Totorá he advanced to the province of Chumbivilcas, as rapidly as possible, which was the cause of no small ills to the natives, more than a thousand being left dead on the road, owing to the weight of the loads they had to carry. From Chumbivilcas Hernando Pizarro ordered Juan Alonzo Palomino to take six soldiers with him and capture five men who by Almagro's orders had been stationed at the bridge of Cacha. Palomino said that he would perform this service, and promptly set out, and reached that part of the river Apurimac called Cacha, where the Indians told him that Almagro's men were on the other side. Juan Alonzo crossed the river and, with the help of the Indians, made prisoners of the five soldiers and brought them to the camp. Hernando Pizarro

was much pleased, and asked the soldiers what they knew about Almagro. They said that, by his order, they had been sent as spies to the bridge at Cacha, that Almagro must be in Cuzco by this time, although some of his captains had wanted to turn back and march on Lima, thinking to find it undefended, but the Adelantado wished only to return to Cuzco. Hernando Pizarro rejoiced that Almagro was at Cuzco and would be there when he reached that city. He said that if Almagro had gone to Lima, as he had been advised, the war might have been rendered much more difficult.

All this time the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro was in the city of Cuzco, preparing weapons and other requisites for war. Many of the inhabitants who were on Pizarro's side were imprisoned, or held as hostages. Those who were not of that way of thinking were provided with arms and horses and set at liberty. Almagro said that he wanted all to see his justice, and how clear was the wrong that the Pizarros wished to do him, in taking from him what the King had given him. He told them all that they should be his good friends, for when the war was finished he would divide all the towns among them so that they would soon be rich. Many answered that they would stand by him to the death, and that they would fight against anyone who, without the King's authority, came to attack him. Garcilasso de la Vega and Gomez de Tordoya would not fight against the Pizarros; and Almagro, knowing how little friendship they had for him, and that the Indians reported the near approach of Hernando Pizarro, ordered them and other citizens of Cuzco whose loyalty to him was not assured, to be arrested, including Diego Maldonado, Mazuelas, Pedro del Barco, Gomez de Alvarado the lad, and many others. A citizen of Cuzco, named Villegas, learning that Hernando Pizarro was very near, tried to pass over to him, thinking that his services might be better rewarded, and he spoke to some others who wished to do the same; and he wanted to take the Inca Paulo with him, who was very serviceable to Almagro, as the natural lord of the Indians. But as he was about to leave and put his plan into execution some one betrayed him to the Adelantado and he was arrested.

CHAPTER LXI

How the captain HERNANDO PIZARRO crossed the bridge of Cacha, how the Adelantado executed justice on VILLEGAS, and of the decisions come to by him and his captains as to what should be done.

HERNANDO PIZARRO gave orders to march with all speed to the bridge over the Apurimac, lest the enemy should get possession of the hill which commanded it. It is certain that if Almagro had taken the advice that some of his captains gave him, and had marched with all his force to meet the Pizarros at this river, it would have been easy for him to defeat them, as these would have arrived tired. Hernando Pizarro and his captains arrived at the bridge and that night occupied the adjacent hill. Then, leaving the high road to Cuzco, they took another on the right hand and followed it until they came to a small village on the top of a hill. Hernando Pizarro wanted to march towards Cuzco with the small force he had with him without waiting for the rest of his army. So great was his desire to be avenged on Almagro that any delay caused him annoyance, and so as not to lose time he told the captains that were with him that they ought at once to advance on Cuzco. They all considered this haste to be very unwise, and held that it would be very imprudent to move until the rest of the forces arrived, the enemy being so near that one did not know when they might attack. As their views differed from those of Hernando Pizarro, they asked Alonzo de Alvarado to speak to him, and represent the imprudence of advancing until the whole force had arrived, for it was known that the Adelantado was in Cuzco, and he might have sent part of his forces to surprise them in some pass, where there would be danger.

After some words had passed between them, Hernando Pizarro told Alonzo de Alvarado that he ought not to be as dilatory as he had been formerly in going from Lima to Aban-

cay, where he was defeated. Alonzo de Alvarado replied that he had done his duty, and what the Governor had ordered. After some further altercation each retired to his own tent.

Some say that there were high words between them, and when the other captains heard of it, seeing the great evil of any such disputes among themselves, they insisted on the side of peace, and it was arranged that they should wait until the following day for the rest of the army to arrive, which was done without further contention.

Turning to what was taking place in Cuzco, Almagro had arrested Villegas, who deeply regretted what he had attempted to do, but the Adelantado ordered him to be confessed and then quartered. Finding himself in this position Villegas hoped to save his own life by implicating others, and said that five of Almagro's friends were concerned in the plot, and had arranged to flee with him. When the Adelantado heard this he ordered them to be arrested although they were quite guiltless; but when Villegas found that this would not save him, he told the truth, and admitted that the five were innocent. The Adelantado then ordered them to be released and Villegas to be executed, which was done.

The Adelantado then called a meeting of all his captains and principal supporters, to consider what it would be best to do; for he had received news that Hernando Pizarro was near the bridge of Cacha. In obedience to his summons the following officers met together: the General Orgoñez, Diego de Alvarado, Gomez de Alvarado, Don Alonzo Enriquez, and the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Francisco de Chaves, Vasco de Guevara, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Salinas, the Quartermaster Rodrigo Nuñez, Don Alonzo de Montemayor, Gabriel de Rojas, Don Cristóbal de Cortesía and others. Almagro told them that they all knew how much he desired peace and abhorred war, and that to make war without His Majesty's order and sanction would be injurious to his service; but his desire for peace did not prevent Hernando Pizarro from coming to desolate the provinces, destroying the pueblos and killing many natives by overloading them. That Pizarro, with cruel pertinacity, designed to occupy the territory which

His Majesty had entrusted to him, the Adelantado, and even intended to cut off his head and the heads of all present. That he might be foiled in these intentions he had called the meeting to decide what course should be pursued.

Some of the captains advised that, as they knew that Hernando Pizarro was coming by the bridge of Cacha, two hundred horsemen and some foot soldiers should wait in an ambush, so that as the arquebuses the enemy carried would be of little use, they could defeat them. Others urged that it would be better to wait for the attack in the city, and, when news came that the enemy was near, they might occupy some hill, or select a position most advantageous to themselves. Being thus undecided it is said that a citizen of Cuzco, named Cristóbal de Hervas, said in a loud voice, facing the Adelantado, that they should remain in the city and not leave it, because if any other course were taken, he would be lost. He added that their men should be kept in readiness, for when the enemy arrived they would be tired and weary; the entrances to the principal streets should be occupied by arquebusmen and such artillery as they possessed, and in this way the enemy would be defeated. Others agreed, and Almagro gave his vote to those who proposed not to leave the city, so such was the conclusion arrived at.

CHAPTER LXII

How HERNANDO PIZARRO continued to approach the city of Cuzco, and how ALMAGRO was very infirm, and how he held a review of his forces.

AFTER the captains Hernando Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado had come to an agreement they set out from that place with all the forces that had yet arrived, sending skirmishers in front to obtain early news of what was passing and, that they might not be seen by the scouts of Almagro, they left the main road and travelled at some distance from it. Here they met some Spaniards who were coming over to join them, who told

Hernando Pizarro that Almagro was so ill that by that time he must be dead. Hernando Pizarro replied that God would not cause him so great a misfortune as that Almagro should not die by his hands; and the army of the Pizarros marched on, using great caution when coming near to the city of Cuzco.

At this time the Adelantado was extremely ill, his infirmity having greatly increased, and he was unable personally to take part in the battle; Captain Juan de Sayavedra was also feeling unwell, and for that reason was not present. There was great excitement when it was known that Hernando Pizarro had crossed the Apurimac by the bridge of Cacha. Orgoñez being neither astonished nor intimidated by the news, ordered the captains to come forth with their banners and mustered the men to see how many there were. The Adelantado, now very weak and infirm, seated himself on a chair at the gates of his house, and Orgoñez, after he had mustered his troops, came to him with a very bold front, and a very cheerful countenance, and reported that he had four hundred men and not one more, so he, Almagro, should be careful in deciding what must be done, for the enemy was now at the gate.

The Adelantado, speaking very gloomily, asked if there was no possibility of peace, supposing Hernando Pizarro were asked not to break off negotiation, seeing that war would be wrongful to the King's service, besides causing many deaths. Orgoñez answered that since former negotiations had been of no use, it was needless to reopen them, and they must commend themselves to God our Lord, for he, Almagro, had chosen to give Hernando Pizarro his life, and he must take the consequences.

That day, before dark, news came that the enemy were coming to sleep within two and a half leagues of the city, which caused great excitement. The Adelantado and his captains met to consider what should be done and, after much deliberation, they resolved to march out into the country and resist any entry into Cuzco. The ensigns displayed their banners, there was a call to arms, and a great beating of drums, and Almagro, seeing that he was unable to join in the battle and help his people, was very sad, complaining of his

disabling illness. He ordered Gabriel de Rojas to see that all the troops left the city. On that Friday of St Lazarus 500 Spaniards marched out, 240 horse and the rest foot. More than a hundred had not been at the muster, and were now made to come out by force, which was useless, as they remained hidden behind buildings. There were six pieces of artillery. Paulo Inca was ordered by the Adelantado to come with 6000 Indians to help. Noguerol de Ulloa, having been wounded, remained in the city; the Adelantado placed him in charge of the citizens and those who had been imprisoned. It was at dawn on the next day that the army of Almagro marched out of the city and proceeded along the valley until they came near to Las Salinas¹, barely half a league from Cuzco, whence they sent out scouts to ascertain the position of Hernando Pizarro. That leader, with all his forces, had marched with all the speed possible, and, on that Friday of St Lazarus, in the afternoon, reached a low hill, near the mountain range. There he ordered the tents to be pitched, and slept that night. They were so near the men of Chile that the soldiers on either side could see each other. A few days before this, as Captain Vasco de Guevara had many men in his company, on the advice of the captains, thirty lances were taken from it and, with the addition of some others, formed into a new company of which Juan Tello, a native of Seville, was made captain.

Orgoñez boasted a good deal, making all who were with him believe that Hernando Pizarro had not the courage to attack them, and that, when they were not on the look out, he would make a flank march to enter Cuzco or gain some strong position. The Adelantado had come out of Cuzco in a litter, with his army. When he reached a plain, before arriving at Las Salinas, he exerted himself to address his people, saying to his captains that they would now see to what a pass the negotiations had been brought, while he had always striven for peace, knowing that war was so injurious to the service of His Majesty, they could now see that Hernando Pizarro

¹ The salt pits. The Quichua name of the place was Cachi-pampa, "Plain of salt."

and his brother, in spite of so many oaths and promises, came to seek them out, while those who followed their banners did so because they believed that all the land would be divided amongst them. When they found out their mistake they would not dare to make war again. He continued, "But you will be strong in battle, seeing that you have a just cause, and victory will be on your side, while the enemy will receive severe punishment." They answered that they would do all that was possible, for they were bound in honour and as gentlemen to do no less. The Adelantado, looking at Gomez de Alvarado said that he remembered how much he had cared for him since the time when he came from Guatemala with his brother Don Pedro de Alvarado, and that he might know how entirely he relied on him, he entrusted to him the royal standard of the eagle, asking him to take his place with it. Gomez de Alvarado, thanking him for the honour thus conferred upon him, said that he would watch it and guard it with all possible care.

CHAPTER LXIII

Of the battle that was fought between the parties of Chile and Pachacamac near Las Salinas, which are half a league from Cuzco, and how the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO was overcome and defeated, and many of his men killed.

THE news of the battle that was about to be fought between the men of Chile and those of Pachacamac spread far and wide, and no small number of natives assembled, rejoiced that there would be some sort of satisfaction for the ills they had suffered from the Spaniards. They crowded on the ridges and hillsides, not desiring that either side should be victorious but that all should be killed with their own weapons. They knew these strangers to be so doughty that 200,000 Indians could not kill 180 of them in the past year, during the siege of Cuzco. The wives of the Indian chiefs and the girls in the service of

Spaniards came out from the city to see the contending parties in the battle.

Hernando Pizarro ordered most careful watch to be kept in the camp during the night. The Quartermaster, Pedro de Valdivia, sent several esquires to go the rounds and watch, so that the enemy might not surprise them. As soon as the next day arrived, Hernando Pizarro ordered Alonzo de Toro and Francisco de Villacastin, with other horsemen to reconnoitre the enemy's position. They soon reached the place where they had seen fires during the previous night. As Rodrigo Orgoñez had given a similar order, the two parties approached so near that they could speak to each other. After some discourse they returned to their respective camps to report.

When Hernando Pizarro heard that the camp of the Adelantado was at Las Salinas, he ordered a prompt advance. They say that when he was told what banners were there, and that of Vasco de Guevara was mentioned, he said that, that was the banner of a friend and not of an enemy, meaning that Guevara had sent to make some offer to him. Of this I know no more than that I heard it said.

The forces of Almagro were in a spacious plain, where it would have been wise to await the shock of battle, their greatest strength being in cavalry, but Orgoñez gave orders to advance farther towards Las Salinas. Vasco de Guevara said that they ought to stand fast, for if they moved they were lost, as the enemy desired nothing better than to fight the battle in a narrow space where, without receiving much hurt from the cavalry, they could use their arquebuses at close quarters.

Contrary to the will of the majority Orgoñez insisted upon marching among the salt-pits. Almagro was stationed a little apart, where he could have a good view of the battle. Orgoñez ordered Paulo, the Inca, to station himself with his Indians on a hill, and to kill all who fled from the battle, whether they were friends or enemies, without sparing anyone. Orgoñez and the other captains, seeing that the day had arrived when the quarrel between Pizarro and Almagro must come to an end, encouraged one another and prepared for the coming battle. Diego de Alvarado and Vasco de Guevara again remonstrated with

Orgoñez, urging him to return to the plain which they had left because where they were the cavalry could not be used with effect. In the position they mentioned their infantry could be placed to oppose the arquebusmen and crossbowmen of the enemy, and the cavalry could be so placed on the wings and all would be stationed to such advantage, that when the enemy came to face them, Vasco de Guevara with fifty lances could charge the arquebusmen, which was the strongest arm of the enemy, and with their impetuous attack would soon rout them, for their cavalry was more numerous and better than that of Hernando Pizarro. Meanwhile the artillery could be worked, and in the *melée* God would give them the victory, for their cause was the more just one.

On that day Orgoñez was so obstinate that he would take no advice. He said they were very well where they were, and that they would see that what he had said would come true, which was that Hernando Pizarro would make a circuit with his forces to reach Cuzco.

The artillery was placed in the position chosen for them. However, not everyone was of a mind to fight, and some fled back to the city, where Gabriel de Rojas was stationed to drive all out to the camp.

Then the squadron of infantry was formed up with the arquebusmen and twenty crossbowmen in front. The cavalry formed another squadron with Orgoñez and Pedro de Lerma on the flanks. The standard was placed in the centre and round it were Diego de Alvarado, Gomez de Alvarado, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Don Alonzo de Montemayor, Don Cristóbal Cortesía, Don Alonzo Enriquez, Hernando de Alvarado, Perálvarez Holguin, Diego de Hoces, and Cristóbal de Herbas. Other doughty cavaliers were with the artillery. All being in order, the scouts reported that the enemy was near at hand.

The silence of the Indians, and of all present, was at that moment profound. The Indians waited to hear their own voices when they should see the valorous Spaniards dead through their own madness. Certainly if the men who were about to join in mortal combat, had occupied themselves in discovery and conquest, the welfare of this new world of the

Indies would have been advanced, and in all parts the Cross would have been adored, and the name of Caesar feared.

The army of the Adelantado being thus marshalled, Rodrigo Orgoñez ordered Pedro de Lerma, with some lances, to ride out and see to what point the enemy had advanced. Hernando Pizarro's forces marched in good order, always keeping reconnoitring parties in front, and Pedro de Lerma advanced until he could see them. On returning he reported that they were now very near. But the sun was already setting and night was approaching, when Hernando Pizarro, with his banners displayed, arrived within a short distance of the enemy, there being a small river between the two camps. When the night came on, all remained under arms, with such hopes and fears as the reader may imagine. But never, either on one side or the other, came any proposal of peace, such was the hatred by which they were actuated.

Early next morning, having first heard mass, Hernando Pizarro ordered an advance on the enemy. In their march his forces came to the high road of the Incas called Collasuyo, and after crossing this road they followed another leading towards the fortress, with the intention of wheeling round to the attack from higher ground than that on which the enemy's camp was placed. When at a distance of half a league, Hernando Pizarro halted, and made a speech to his captains and men, in vindication of his cause. He said that Almagro had begun the war when he, Hernando, was Magistrate at Cuzco in the name of the King. Almagro had imprisoned and ill-treated him, as everyone knew. But more as a point of honour than to wipe out past injuries, he desired to punish those who followed Almagro and his fatuity, because they had helped him in his errors. Now he, Hernando, and his hearers had come, by order of the Governor, to recover the city of Cuzco, and to deliver it from the oppression of Almagro, and, as gentlemen, they would discharge the debt they owed to his brother's friendship; and when the war should be concluded, there were many provinces and discoveries to divide, which would be assigned to them and not to others. He said further that if God should give them the victory, they must use it

with moderation, without killing the vanquished, for all were Christians and subjects of His Majesty.

Having addressed his people with these words and others, they all replied joyfully and in accordance with his wishes.

Then the Captain Castro, with the arquebus and crossbowmen, was ordered to cross the river towards the enemy's position¹. Castro replied that he would do so, and set out for the plain which I have mentioned.

The two armies were now facing each other. That of the Pachacamas was marshalled in the following order: Hernando Pizarro and Alonzo de Alvarado were at the head of the cavalry on either flank, and in crossing the river they had to join up and form into line. The captains Diego de Rojas, Peranzures, Eugenio de Moscoso, and Alonzo de Mercadillo were in front with their banners. Pedro de Vergara had to follow and support Castro, who had gone with the vanguard. Diego de Urbina, with the pikemen, was on one side of the cavalry, the artillery being on the other, and the Royal Standard was in the centre of the squadrons. Near to it were Gonzalo Pizarro, the quartermaster Pedro de Valdivia, Don Pedro Puerto-carrero, Don Pedro de Portugal, Felipe Gutierrez, Pedro de Hinojosa, Sancho Perero Calderon, Diego Centeno, Juan de Avalos, Luis de Ribera, Gaspar Rodriguez, Alonzo Perez de

¹ A new kind of bullet was first used in the battle of Las Salinas, which is described by Garcilaso de la Vega (II. p. 127, Cap. XXXVII), quoting from Zarate and Gomara. It was brought from Flanders to Peru, with a supply of arquebuses, by Pedro de Vergara and adopted in the army of Hernando Pizarro. Its object was to cut and render useless the enemy pikes.

The new bullet was of copper but made in the same mould as the ordinary bullet. It had a third or fourth of iron thread, and at each end of the thread a hook. Half the thread is placed in one half of the mould, and the other half of the thread in the other half of the mould. To divide the half moulds a bit of copper or iron, like paper is placed. Then they put in the lead melted with the hooks attached to the iron thread. The bullet goes out divided into two, but connected by the iron thread. To load the arquebus with it, the same order is taken as with an ordinary bullet. On leaving the arquebus the two parts separate, while the iron thread between the half bullets, cuts anything that comes in its way. The arquebusiers were ordered to shoot at the enemy pikes and break them, for more could be broken in this way than with single bullets. They were not to shoot at the pikemen because so much harm would be done to them. The object was to show them the great superiority of the arquebus over the pike.

Castillejo, Alonzo Perez de Esquivel, Alberto de Orduña, Alonzo de Mendoza, Anduca, and many other gentlemen.

Captain Pedro de Castro had crossed the river and occupied a small hill, whence his arquebusmen, who were more feared then than they are to-day, commenced firing.

Rodrigo Orgoñez, Francisco de Chaves, Pedro de Lerma, Vasco de Guevara and Salinas were all at their stations. The General Rodrigo Orgoñez, when he saw that the enemy had crossed the river, turned to Vasco de Guevara and ordered him to attack with his company those who had so crossed and to occupy the place they had left, and all the rest would speedily follow in their order. It is said that Guevara answered "You are sending me to a slaughter-house." Others state that he said no more than that it was not yet time. I have heard both from persons of credit; but I pass no judgment. When Orgoñez heard what Guevara said, he closed his visor and charged, shouting "Santiago and at them!" By this time Hernando Pizarro and his followers had crossed the river, and both sides shouted "Long live the King!" and for battle-cry "Almagro" and "Pizarro." When the two lines were near they charged one against the other, and the Indians gave a great shout.

Captain Salinas, struck by a ball from an arquebus fell dead, and Martincote, a valiant soldier, took his place. Then, with much noise, they began to wound each other mortally. 'Tis said that the Ensign-general of Almagro, named Francisco Hurtado, not liking the look of things, passed over with the standard to the enemy. Then many of the men of Chile, without having made any stand, gave rein to their horses and fled, while some of the infantry hid themselves behind ruined walls; and the arquebuses of Pizarro did great execution. The captains of either force were now face to face, and some had fallen dead or wounded. Captain Pedro de Lerma, catching sight of Hernando Pizarro, charged at him, and shouting out that he was a traitor, made such a furious attack that he brought Hernando's horse to its knees, and would have killed Hernando himself, but for the good armour he wore. Then, sword in hand, he dashed in among the enemy.

The forces of Almagro were thrown into confusion, owing to those who had fled, and Pizarro's men thus remained masters of the field.

One of the latter, in a loud voice, shouted "Victory, victory for Pizarro!" Orgoñez, still fighting, when he heard it, attacked the man, crying out, "You shall not see it, villain!" and killed him by driving his sword into the man's mouth.

Captain Eugenio Moscoso, dashing about in the battle, fell mortally wounded. Pedro de Lerma, after having done his duty as a good captain, fell badly wounded on the field, and the same fate befell Vasco de Guevara and many others.

The army of Almagro no longer kept any order, and those who could flee, were not held back by any feeling of shame. Rodrigo Orgoñez, seeing that all was lost, tried to rally some of those who were taking to flight. While doing so he was wounded by an arquebus shot, and his horse fell dead. Without showing any fear or weakness he attacked his enemies on foot. Seeing him in this plight, six soldiers surrounded him, when he cried out, "Is there no knight among you to whom I may surrender?" A servant of Hernando Pizarro, named Fuentes, replied "Yes, surrender to me." Then between them all they seized him, and Fuentes, with great cruelty, cut off his head. Thus there was an end of Orgoñez, and his vanity. Orgoñez dead, there was no question of the complete victory of the Pizarros over the party of Almagro.

The Adelantado, Don Diego de Almagro, watched the battle from an adjacent hill. When he saw what had happened on the battlefield and that so many of his friends were killed, he left his litter, full of affliction, mounted a mule, and went to the fortress of Cuzco with three or four others, and placed himself in a strong tower within it. As there came with Hernando Pizarro many of those who were defeated by Almagro at the bridge of Abancay, who hated the men of Chile, many were killed who were already wounded and had surrendered. One of the conquerors, a friend of Captain Ruy Diaz, was carrying the latter behind him on his horse, when two or three soldiers came across them, and gave Ruy Diaz such wounds that he fell dead. Those who were imprisoned in the

city, under the charge of Noguerol de Ulloa, broke out and went to meet Hernando Pizarro, who was still on the field. Hernando Bachicao had gone in search of Pedro de Lerma, and finding him fallen, the coward drew his sword and gave him many wounds and left him, believing him to be dead, then returning he cried in a loud voice that he had killed Pedro de Lerma.

It was now late, and there was heavy rain. When the conquerors had sacked the camp, they went to the city. The battle lasted a little more than two hours. It was fought on the Saturday of St Lazarus, 1538.

CHAPTER LXIV

Of what happened in the city of Cuzco after those of Pachacamac had looted the greater part of it, and how the Adelantado was made a prisoner as well as some others.

No more than nine of Hernando Pizarro's men were killed in the battle, but Captain Eugenio de Moscoso was so badly wounded that he died a few days afterwards.

On the side of Almagro over one hundred and twenty died on the field and subsequently; among them several brave warriors. But why should I wish to relate the cruelties of my countrymen? I would rather escape from the narration of this part of the battle and leave it unwritten, and let it be buried in oblivion, so that people may not know about such great evils, nor learn from me how such an event as this may occur in a civil war. It were better to omit the tears and sighs, which, in this place, are due to the brutal deaths inflicted by both parties. I would, indeed, wish to be silent about the broil of this conflict, yet, on what foundation could I write of what followed? For from it arose all the evils which afflicted this miserable land. So, though it be with pain, I must relate the things that happened.

The Adelantado was in the fortress, as we have said, and, soon after the battle, the Captain Alonso de Alvarado went there, and after some discussion with him, removed Almagro from the tower. At that moment the Captain Pedro de Castro arrived, and seeing how haggard the Adelantado's face was, he raised his arquebus to shoot him, saying, "See him for whose sake so many cavaliers have been killed." Alonso de Alvarado prevented this by going between them. The Adelantado was then put on a mule behind Felipe Gutierrez, and brought down to the city, where Hernando Pizarro had already arrived. When Hernando heard that the Adelantado was there, he showed that he would have been pleased if he had been killed, and ordered him to be secured in a tower, which was done. The soldiers went about looting and had disputes over the spoil, and even came to blows; all the city was in confusion, the Indian women running from one place to another, pursued by the victors. Diego de Alvarado, Gomez de Alvarado, Juan de Sayavedra, Vasco de Guevara, Juan de Guzman, Diego Nuñez de Mercado, D. Alonso de Montemayor, with many others, were prisoners. Gomez de Tordoya, meeting Don Alonso Enriquez, brought him along, and coming to where there were several soldiers of Pizarro grouped together, he said: "This is Don Alonso, let no one harm him." At the same time he winked his eye as much as to say "Here is that troublesome fellow Don Alonso. Do what you like with him." Hernando Pizarro ordered him to be held a prisoner¹.

The day after the battle they had brought from the field Pedro de Lerma, badly injured with seventeen wounds, to the lodging of Pedro de los Rios. When it was known that he was still alive twelve men, armed with coats of mail and swords, came to kill him: on account of an insult he had offered to one Pedro de Samaniego, who came with them. When they reached the house of Pedro de los Rios some remained at the door, the others entered and found Pedro Martinez de Godoy and Juan de Escobar who were among the vanquished,

¹ Don Alonso Enriquez feelingly relates his own treatment by the victorious soldiers.

and were unarmed. Asking where Pedro de Lerma was, they found out that he was on a bed, quite unable to move. Samaniego came to him, and pulling off his covering, found that he was more dead than alive. His sheets were covered with blood, and he was too weak to move. Seeing him like that Samaniego asked him if he was Pedro de Lerma. He replied that he was. Samaniego then asked him if he remembered the affront he put upon him at Abancay. Pedro de Lerma answered that he remembered it but asked what revenge could be taken on him while he was in that state. "If he had any valour and held to his grudge against him he should have him cured, and when he was well, he could demand what he liked. If he killed him in any other way it would be to his dishonour." Samaniego, who did not agree to this proposal, drew his sword and drove it three times through the wounded man's heart. Such was the death given to Pedro de Lerma, a native of the city of Burgos.

The head of Rodrigo Orgoñez was brought to the city, and put on the gallows by order of Hernando Pizarro, an unworthy and very disgraceful act, which so brave a warrior did not deserve, and to many it appeared a very evil deed. Rodrigo Orgoñez was a native of Oropesa. A few days before his death, His Majesty had granted him the title of Marshal of New Toledo. Almagro was placed in the custody of guards who kept strict watch over him, as they did over the others who were made prisoners.

Those who had come with Hernando Pizarro thought that the countryside was to be divided amongst them at once, and the Indians were to be taken from those who then owned them. Hernando Pizarro meant to leave things as they were, telling them that they could settle in Charcas and Arequipa, where many of them would receive grants. This announcement pleased none of them, as they considered that Charcas would be banishment and would be no profit to them. The Captain Alonso de Alvarado said to Hernando Pizarro that now that he had Almagro in his power, and had occupied the city of Cuzco, he wished to have leave to visit the Governor, and then to proceed to Chachapoyas, which he had explored,

and to found a settlement there. Hernando Pizarro rejoiced at this, and said that it should be as he wished, and desired him to take Don Diego, son of the Adelantado, with him. Alonso de Alvarado then asked for permission for Gomez de Alvarado to go with him to Lima, and Hernando Pizarro agreed to it. Diego de Alvarado, and the other principal persons were treated well, although they were prisoners.

CHAPTER LXV

How HERNANDO PIZARRO sent PEDRO DE CANDIA and ALONSO DE MERCADILLO on an expedition of discovery, about the people they took with them, and how an indictment was ordered to be prepared against the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO.

MANY days had not passed before the news of the battle of Las Salinas reached Lima, where the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro was then residing. He had left Yca, after parting with his brothers, and had remained in Lima during the whole of Lent. At this time the Bishop D. Fr. Vicente de Valverde had arrived, as the first Bishop in this kingdom. The Governor and all the citizens of Lima gave him a good reception. As the result of the battle was as yet unknown many tried to persuade the Governor to go to Cuzco and prevent any breach between his brothers and Almagro. He said that he would do so if the Indians were not in insurrection, and the country in such a disturbed state that it would require a large force to go from town to town, but in that case, he said, he could not go. Then the news of the battle reached the Governor, when he was playing at bowls. He received it with no little pleasure, and decided to go to Cuzco with as little delay as possible.

At this time Hernando Pizarro took great precautions for his personal safety. For many of those who were with him at Las Salinas came with no other object than to rob what they could, and with hopes of receiving grants of Indians.

Finding that he was not going to give them anything, but on the contrary put them off by saying there would be settlements in Charcas and Arequipa when the Governor came, they laughed at such a scheme, not looking upon those provinces as of any value, although the localities referred to are the richest and most profitable in the Indies. Though an increasing quantity of gold and silver comes from other parts, the output is not to be compared with that of Charcas. However Diego de Urbina, Diego de Rojas, Felipe Gutierrez and others were very discontented with Hernando Pizarro, and were sorry that they had come on his side, and against the Adelantado.

There was an inhabitant of this city of Cuzco, named Pedro de Candia, who was very rich, having 100,000 ducats in money. To spend it and be left with nothing it was only necessary for an Indian girl in his service to make him believe that, on the other side of the cordillera of the Andes, there was a very rich and populous region¹ well provided with flocks and all other things necessary to sustain human life. When Pedro de Candia received this information, believing that all the Indian girl had said was true, and forgetting that in explorations people never tell the truth or hesitate to lie, he spoke to Hernando Pizarro asking him to appoint him to subdue the land said to be called AMBAYA and to give him the title of captain, for he had the money to pay the soldiers who might wish to go with him. Hernando Pizarro wished nothing better than to see some of the Spaniards leave Cuzco and relieve him of their importunities, for there were more than 1600 of them there. So he replied that he agreed, and, by virtue of the powers given to him by his brother, he gave Pedro de Candia a commission as captain of this expedition.

At this time Alonso de Alvarado went about making preparations for going to the province of Chachapoyas. Pedro de Vergara, who had been captain of arquebusmen also spoke to Hernando Pizarro about undertaking an expedition to Bracamoras, where he hoped to find a rich and populous province, and to this Hernando Pizarro assented. He also appointed Alonso de Mercadillo captain of the Chupachos².

¹ She called it *Ambaya*.

² Moyobamba.

Meanwhile Pedro de Candia, holding authority from Hernando Pizarro, prepared to lead his expedition in person. He took eighty-five thousand *pesos* in gold, and began to spend some and to collect followers.

It gave many a noble youth a desire to go in the expedition, for seeing Candia so rich and possessing so many Indians, yet looking on such expenditure as nothing in comparison to what he would gain, as they had nothing to spend but their time, they thought it was practical wisdom to leave Cuzco in search of rich lands where they could find repose from labour. For their outfits they were helped by Candia, who not only spent what he possessed, but went into debt for as much more. He got together more than three hundred Spaniards, horse and foot, from among the most distinguished people there were in Cuzco. He appointed as captains, Francisco de Villagran, Antonio de Quiñones, Don Martin de Solier, and Don Francisco his brother, as quartermaster Juan Quijada, and as captain of the arquebus and crossbowmen one Alonso de Mesa.

From the men of Chile, who went as exiles, were Gonzalo Pereira, Pedro de Mesa, Arias de Silva and others. There also went Juan Alonso Palamino, Juan Ortiz de Zárate, Francisco Gomez, Don Francisco de León and many other soldiers of repute both of the party of Pizarro and that of Almagro.

As soon as Pedro de Candia had his force ready and supplied with necessaries, he proceeded, with their banners, outside the city. Hernando Pizarro told him to move on with as little delay as possible, and to enter the country of which he had received notice. Candia then marched with his followers until he arrived at the valley of Pacual¹, a place which is ten leagues from Cuzco, and five from the forest of the Andes. They took a great quantity of baggage with them, and much of it was lost. These new provinces cannot be explored and subdued without the help of natives, and for that reason a great number was always taken in these expeditions of discovery. Having arrived at this valley Pedro de Candia encamped there, with his people, for a month and a half,

¹ Probably Pancur-tampu.

making preparations for crossing the mountains. When Hernando Pizarro heard that he was still there, he sent Garcilaso de la Vega to tell him that he must do no damage in that valley, nor in the neighbouring districts, but proceed at once on his expedition. Garcilaso set out from the city, and came to the camp of Pedro de Candia, and gave him the message of Hernando Pizarro. Candia replied that he would comply as far as possible; but that since Hernando Pizarro knew that the discovery would be profitable, and that His Majesty would be well served, there was no need to admonish him, and that he would push on without doing any harm to the Indian villages. With this Garcilaso de la Vega returned to Cuzco.

Hernando Pizarro (not because he intended to preserve the life of the Adelantado) ordered notaries to find witnesses, and issued an indictment against Don Diego de Almagro for the crimes he had committed. As, for our sins, the men who are in this land are so keen for revenge, and so united in their desire to do whatever the Governor or captain may wish, it was only necessary for it to be known that Hernando Pizarro wanted to make a case against Almagro, for many to come and say that they knew of many things he had done which were deserving of death. The notaries had to work hard to take down the depositions of witnesses, for the indictment covered more than two thousand leaves of paper. While this was being prepared, great vigilance was observed in guarding his person.

CHAPTER LXVI

How MANCO INCA retired into the fastnesses of the Andes with great treasure and many people, and how UILLA TUPAC marched with an army to the provinces of the HUANCA-CHUPACHOS.

I WILL now relate what happened to the Inca after his famous defeat by Rodrigo Orgoñez, when captain Ruy Diaz and the other Christian captives were liberated. When the Inca saw

that Orgoñez had no other intention than to capture and kill him, and had slain many of his men and captured some of his women, he was much disturbed and alarmed, feeling that his gods had forgotten him for ever, while he had not sufficient authority to assemble another army to follow up the war. So, with those who stood by him and their women and servants and all his treasure, which was not small, he took refuge in the province of Viticos, a remote part of the Andes towards the south. He considered that there he would be safe from his enemies the Christians, and would not hear the neighing and stamping of their horses nor would their trenchant swords any more slash the flesh of his people. The Huillac Umu, seeing the determination of the Inca, believing that as minister of the Devil and a High Priest he would be held in great veneration, and that all would respect him and guard his ancient honour, resolved not to exile himself from the province of Cuzco, and declined to go with the Inca. Rodrigo Orgoñez had scarcely left the river, when the Inca assembled those of his people who were going with him and said that, their gods having allowed their enemies to get possession of the Empire of the Incas Yupanquis, their ancestors, they must retreat into the deepest recesses of the Andes where they could live secure, and without fear of destruction or of placing their persons in the power of the Christians, which was what the latter most desired. The Indians and the principal Orejones listened joyfully to the Inca, and agreed to go into this voluntary exile with him, but it was not without sorrow that they reflected on the happy times they had passed in Cuzco and other parts of the kingdom. Manco Inca took with him a great quantity of treasure, and many loads of fine and beautifully woven cloth. With all this he entered the Andes and arrived at Viticos, where he fixed his quarters in the place where now stands the city of Huanuco¹. Here there are broad lands and many Indians, and there was established over them a tyrant of the Inca family named Uilla Tupac, who assembled many of the Orejones and was obeyed

¹ Pedro de Cieza here confuses the retreat of the Inca in Vilcapampa with the proceedings of an Indian chief at Huanuco.

by them as captain; and he went about illtreating the natives, and ruining the pueblos.

I will now relate what happened to the captain Pedro de Candia, after he was visited by Garcilaso de la Vega at Pacotambo¹. Having been a month and a half in that valley making preparations, he got together some natives of the district to guide him to the country whither he wanted to go. He marched until he reached those mighty chains of the Andes where he found the road to be truly infernal. No other people but the Spaniards could have traversed such horrible country, nor have penetrated, as they did, the Andean forests where the route is so bad that it can only be followed with the greatest difficulty. Not all the horses could make their way, and many of the bolder and most active ones fell over the precipices and were dashed to pieces. Yet some of the more sluggish animals, looked upon as useless, succeeded in passing the very bad places. Some of the Spaniards also were injured by falls. In spite of these troubles they pressed onwards. Pedro de Candia was a foreigner², and had not authority enough to make the soldiers fear him, and he was also a man of little understanding. I believe that even if he had found a good land he would not have been able to bring an enterprise to a satisfactory end. If he had not entered by the way he did, but had sought out a better one, he would have found many inhabitants in these forests of the Andes and great regions furnishing flocks and other supplies, as we have been informed by those who came from the Rio de la Plata to Charcas in this year of 1548³.

¹ Cf. note 1 on page 207.

² A Greek, a native of Crete, as his name implies. He was one of the gallant thirteen who crossed the line Pizarro drew on the sand at the isle of Gallo.

³ That was a very different region, far to the south.

CHAPTER LXVII

How PEDRO DE CANDIA and those who went with him into the forests suffered incredible hardships, and how they could find no way to go forward, and had to return to the Collao.

PEDRO DE CANDIA found himself in a troublesome situation, in having come with his camp into such dense wilds, where the sun is never seen, and where the clouds are so thick and gloomy that even sky is not visible. As this part is more elevated than any other region of the kingdom it never ceases to rain, and if it ever pauses, the trees continue to send down water from their branches. As yet there was no want of food, for they had brought flocks, and Indians laden with provisions which they ate. Pedro de Candia consulted with the principal officers who were with him as to what should be done, and whether they should go on or turn back. To proceed by a way so difficult and so covered with forest seemed impossible. Yet to return by the way they came seemed equally impracticable, the advance having been so difficult; and they were all very sorry that they had ever entered so evil a land. After thinking it over, they at last determined to go forward, and presently, striking their camp, they moved on. They had been following the trail by which the Indians brought up their coca and other products, and continuing along it they came to the most rugged and difficult pass they had yet met with. It would have been dangerous for the horses to cross it, for it was a solid rock, and from the trees which covered its summit there hung many lianas¹ so strong that the Indians climbed up to the top by them. When matters came to such a critical pass the Spaniards would have gone back on their horses, if they could have done so, but they did not dare to attempt it. They resorted to a clever contrivance for getting over the difficulty. They collected as many of those huge lianas as possible, and made them into hawsers so strong that they

¹ *Bejucos*: the thick woody stems of climbing and trailing plants.

would bear the weight of a horse. Then some athletic youths climbed to the summit and fastened these hawsers to the trees. Then they passed the other ends round the bodies of the horses, and hoisted them up, which was no small labour for the Spaniards. When they were clear of these evil rocks and difficult road, they marched until they came to some warm valleys called Abisca¹, where they fixed their camp and obtained supplies. Pedro de Candia then ordered some young and intelligent Spaniards to go in all directions and seek for a road which would be better than the one they had taken. After some days they returned and reported that the forest increased in denseness, and that they could find no road by which they could travel without labour. Everyone was distressed at finding themselves in a country requiring such hard work. There was only one comfort, that it was not so cold as other forest tracts. Commending themselves to God our Lord they departed from Abisca and marched for four days, when they encountered some Indians, who were armed with arrows, and ate human flesh. They attacked each other but, as the arrows were not poisoned, no one died.

The forest, as they advanced farther, increased in thickness and difficulty, and in no direction could better travelling be found. The afflicted Christians were sore distressed to find themselves in such a forest which even wild beasts will not inhabit, yet with great patience they cut a path with axes, knives and mattocks, hoping that it would please God to lead them to the land which that cursed Indian girl of Candia's² had described. The Indians who are inhabitants of these forests are not numerous, but they joined together on hearing of the arrival of the Spaniards. One day, when the Spaniards were making the road by laying branches across a swamp, the barbarians attacked the rearguard, shooting arrows at them, and at the cry they raised, some arquebus and cross-bowmen returned the fire and killed some of them. These wild people carry bows and arrows, and a kind of shield made

¹ An estate near the foot of the Andes. It afterwards belonged to Garcilaso de la Vega.

² That is, belonging to Pedro de Candia.

of the very strong hide of the tapir, with which they ward off the blows of swords. On this day one of these Indians was captured and brought before Pedro de Candia, and on being asked by an interpreter what country there was ahead, and in how many days they would emerge from the forest, his reply was that there was nothing else but forest in front of them, the same as behind them. Candia then asked what the Indians had to eat, and how they sustained themselves in the forests. The Indian answered that they had nothing but small huts made of the branches of trees, only bows and arrows for weapons, and that their food was the roots of yucas which they planted. "With that," he said, "we live contented, and thought that we were safe from seeing you before our eyes. In the trees there are monkeys and cats which we kill with these arrows, and there are some tapirs." He added, "You had better not go on any further or you will be lost." But notwithstanding what the Indian had said, Pedro de Candia ordered the march onwards to be continued, making a league each day, sometimes more, sometimes less. Soon the supply of provisions began to fail. There were such numbers of bad thorns that they were hindered by them and although they went with great caution the sharp spines pierced their feet and legs. These thorns were so hurtful that they caused a swelling where they entered, and as they were marching through rivers, swamps, and over stones, the pain caused by their wounds was very great. Some were so sore that it was a sorrowful sight to behold them. They had to eat the horses that died, and the few sheep that were left. They came to wide and very deep rivers, which they could only cross by making bridges, which they did by cutting down trees and fastening them together with the lianas. To cross the swamps they laid down branches of trees, so that, with much trouble, the horses were got across. In this way they traversed the forests for three months, until they thought that they would all die, and that none would come out of it alive. For they could see no sign of striking on any road that they could follow. They now all began to hate Pedro de Candia who had brought them to such a pass by trusting to the stories of an

Indian girl, and they believed that Hernando Pizarro had craftily encouraged the enterprise that they might all die. The captains and principal people of the camp consulted together and agreed to seek a way out of this dense forest. Pedro de Candia, on the following day, ordered Martin de Solier to march in the rear with the horses and some arquebus and crossbowmen, and Captain Mesa to take charge of the rest of the people in the vanguard, the guides going in advance, and in this formation they went back by a trail to the left of that they had been following, suffering much from hunger. But God our Lord, who in similar needs shows his great power, was pleased that they should find a way which, in a short time, led them out of that forest region without the loss of a single Spaniard and no other damage than the deaths of several horses. They came out at some villages which are near the Collao, belonging to one Lucas Martin and Pedro de Mesa. The Spaniards who were with Candia were much incensed against Hernando Pizarro for having encouraged the expedition; and Captain Alonso de Mesa had a mind to seek his death, and release Almagro from prison.

CHAPTER LXVIII

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO left Lima and arrived in the province of Jauja, and concerning the departure of the captains from Cuzco.

DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO received the news of the battle of Las Salinas with great joy. A few days after its reception he determined to leave Lima, on his way to Jauja and thence to Cuzco, giving out that he went to grant life to the Adelantado; but he had no such thought. Indeed the time was near when he himself would meet with a sudden and cruel death, which would have been avoided if he had then ordered that Almagro should not then be killed. Pizarro took with him his chaplain García Díaz Arias, his secretary Antonio Picado, and some

citizens of Lima, the Bishop Fr. Vicente de Valverde having previously warned him that he should not consent to the deaths of more men than had already fallen, for such deeds would be contrary to the will of God our Lord and His Majesty. He also reminded the Governor of the ancient friendship between himself and Almagro, that he now held Cuzco, that Almagro was a prisoner, and that he should be merciful to him and not severe and vindictive. The Governor answered that he would act as the Bishop advised, and that he had no other wish than to see the country at peace. As for the Adelantado there need be no anxiety, for their old friendship would return. The Governor left the Licentiate Benito Suarez de Carbajal as his Lieutenant at Lima, and departed with his small escort, and rode forward until he reached the province of Jauja. Here the Huancas came out to receive him and to do him great service, providing him and his followers with all they needed.

In the city of Cuzco the Captain Alonso de Alvarado was preparing to set out for Chachapoyas; while Alonso de Mercadillo and Pedro de Vergara were also getting ready to start. Hernando Pizarro, by virtue of the powers given to him by the Governor, had appointed Alonso de Alvarado to be senior and General over the other captains until such time as they should depart for their conquests, and ordered them to recognize and obey him as such. While preparations were made for departure Hernando Pizarro spoke to Alonso de Alvarado and told him to take special care that the Spaniards with him, and with Mercadillo and Vergara, did no harm to the natives, neither pillage their villages, nor carry off their women. He said that he had received letters from his brother the Governor, who was leaving Lima for Cuzco, charging him to give him a full report of all that had happened and of how the indictment against Almagro was getting on, and that later on he would pronounce the sentence according to justice, and that he would deliver Almagro's son Diego to the care of Gomez de Alvarado, brother of the Adelantado Don Pedro. Alonso de Alvarado answered that he would do what he was ordered, and would be very careful

to prevent ill-treatment of the natives and plundering of their property. Hernando Pizarro also spoke to the captains Mercado and Vergara touching the conduct they should observe in their conquests.

Having received these instructions, the captains departed from Cuzco, accompanied by many gentlemen and by Hernando Pizarro himself for some distance. They travelled by the royal road of the Incas until they came to the province of Jauja. The Governor rejoiced at the arrival there of Alvarado and went out as far as the river to meet him and the other captains who were with him. He received them very cordially, and also welcomed young Diego, the son of the Adelantado, and Gomez de Alvarado and the rest. He then heard the details of the battle, and of the other events that had taken place at Cuzco, as well as of the departure of Pedro de Candia on his expedition, to which we will now revert.

CHAPTER LXIX

How the Captains MESA and VILLAGRAN, who went with PEDRO DE CANDIA, conspired to liberate the Adelantado and kill HERNANDO PIZARRO; of the letters they wrote on the subject to DIEGO DE ALVARADO, and of what happened further about this matter.

THE followers of Pedro de Candia came out of the forests very weak, and some of them ill. Out of fear of the quartermaster Juan Quijada, a friend of Hernando Pizarro, Captain Mesa, with the design we have mentioned, treated with Pedro de Candia deceitfully, and induced him to send Quijada to Cuzco to report the results of the expedition. He was to relate the hardships they had endured, and how they had been unable to find a road to the country of which they had received reports, and that as they now desired to explore a populated region, or a locality where they could have grants of Indians, and gain a living, permission should be given them to occupy the valley of Carabaya, which is less difficult of access, the Indians

reporting that there is an easy way through the forest and across the mountains. The quartermaster Juan de Quijada offered to go to Cuzco, and set out with letters from Pedro de Candia and other persons.

As soon as he was gone the Captain Mesa talked with Captain Villagran and persuaded him to attempt the murder of Hernando Pizarro and the liberation of the Adelantado from prison, he being so generous and brave a señor that he would be sure to give them a rich reward. If Villagran agreed it would be necessary to keep it a secret from Pedro de Candia. And Villagran agreed to what Mesa proposed.

As Pedro de Candia was a man of little intelligence it seemed to them, that to carry out their plan, they must make him believe that the whole party ought to go to Cuzco to see Hernando Pizarro, and renew their proposal about entering the valley of Carabaya, so presently they suggested this to Pedro de Candia and he not thinking that there was any ulterior motive, agreed that it would be a good plan, as Cuzco was so near. Then Mesa and Villagran went about persuading those whom they noticed were annoyed with Hernando Pizarro to join with them, pointing out the immense advantage that would accrue to them by liberating Almagro, while Hernando Pizarro well deserved death for having sent them to die in those forests. As the men in Peru need little persuasion to agree to any new thing, there were many, both among those of Chile and those of Pachacamac, who promised to follow the conspirators and aid them to carry out their design. Captain Villagran ordered a muster of the men under his command, and they numbered over three hundred Spaniards, horse and foot, among them over a hundred arquebus and crossbowmen. The unsuspecting Candia was given to understand that it was quite proper to march fully armed, for Hernando Pizarro would consider that they were led by good captains. Mesa sought out saltpetre, made powder for the arquebusmen, and had pikes made for those who had neither horses nor arquebuses. If they had not delayed so long, they would certainly have succeeded in their plan.

The quartermaster Juan Quijada made his way to Cuzco,

where he told Hernando Pizarro about the journey they had made, and related what else had happened, at which Hernando expressed much regret.

After the pikes and gunpowder had been made, Pedro de Candia and his followers went on towards Cuzco, many of them bent upon killing Hernando Pizarro. But Francisco de León, a man calling himself Alonso Diaz, and another named Galdámez, sent some Indians, in whom they had great confidence, with letters to Diego de Alvarado, telling him what was intended, and asking him to be ready to meet them when they arrived, with all the friends he could collect, in order to kill Hernando Pizarro and liberate Almagro. He was asked to join them with all his friends, as soon as they should enter the fortress, by night, and be heard shouting for Almagro and liberty, and to attack the Pizarros and their party, and leave none alive.

These letters came to the hands of Diego de Alvarado, and as he was a knight of high honour and opposed to such methods, it seemed to him that the plot ought not to be allowed to succeed, being against the service of his Majesty. Moreover, at that time he did not believe that Hernando Pizarro intended to kill the Adelantado, but that, on the arrival of the Governor the old friendship would be renewed, and make an end to war and to past differences. So he wrote a reply telling them not to make the attempt, as it would upset negotiations, and put the party of Pizarro in the right. When the conspirators received the answer of Diego de Alvarado they were not at all pleased, but, fearing to be betrayed by him, they sent a message to Hernando Pizarro, telling him what was passing, and of the intention of Mesa and Villagran. They said they had only written to Diego de Alvarado as a warning, that he might know about the plot, and that as they were now discovering the affair to him (Pizarro), in which no less than his life was at stake, they hoped he would look upon them as friends and grant them favours.

CHAPTER LXX

How HERNANDO PIZARRO sentenced the Adelantado DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO to death, and how his head was cut off.

THE Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, from the time of his being made prisoner after the battle, was kept in a strong turret where he was strictly guarded and sufficient care was taken that he should not escape. He was very infirm. He sent to ask Hernando Pizarro to visit him and not to treat him so cruelly. Hernando Pizarro went to the prison where he was confined and talked to him, giving him hope that his life would be spared, saying that there was news that his brother the Governor was coming from Lima to Cuzco, and that he would consult him on his arrival, or if he was delayed, the Adelantado might go to meet him. To some extent Almagro was cheered by what Hernando Pizarro said to him. But Hernando, when he came out of the prison, gave orders to the notaries to make all possible speed with the witnesses, so that he could pronounce sentence.

Many of those who were on the side of Almagro in the battle had left the city, and gone to the villages of the Indians, where they passed the time complaining of their bad luck.

The charges which Hernando Pizarro brought against the Adelantado were that he wrongfully seized the city of Cuzco, and occupied it without the royal authority, that he took him (Hernando Pizarro) prisoner by treachery when the magistracy was rightfully his, that he attacked Alonso de Alvarado at Abancay causing several deaths, and that he caused the recent battle to be fought, against the service of God and His Majesty. There were other charges (they are never wanting when the conqueror condemns the conquered) and on these charges the death sentence was based. Hernando Pizarro disingenuously gave out that it was not his wish that the Adelantado should be put to death, and that this might be believed, notwithstanding that in his breast Almagro was already condemned,

he sent him dainty food to eat, including wine and preserves and other delicacies, as he was very weak by reason of his illness. He also sent to say that he thought it would be better for Almagro to go in a chair or a litter, when he went to meet the Governor. The Adelantado, believing what Hernando Pizarro said, was well contented, and sent to say he would go in a chair fitted with poles, in which he could travel better than in a litter, and that in meeting his friend Don Francisco Pizarro, there would be no rancour between them. At this time the news reached Hernando Pizarro of the conspiracy against him in the camp of Pedro de Candia. He knew that there were many in the city who would be glad to injure him, that Diego de Urbina and other principal people murmured against him in secret and expressed their regret at the imprisonment of the Adelantado, and he knew that if Almagro were sent towards Lima the men of Chile who were scattered about would unite and rescue him, and murder both the Governor and himself. On the other hand if he moved to punish the conspiracy in Candia's camp there would be a rising in Cuzco to release Almagro. In order to free himself from these fears and to avoid the evils that might arise, he ordered the indictment to be closed, and condemned the Adelantado to death. They also lay the blame of this execution on the Governor, holding him to have been remiss; for the Adelantado was alive for three months after the battle, and, during that time, if he had wanted him to live he could have sent an order to that effect. Some go so far as to say that Almagro was beheaded by the Governor's order. Some even stated that Hernando Pizarro often said that if he did anything he had a command for it from the Governor.

When the sentence had been pronounced, a message was sent to Almagro that he should confess. An order was then given to arm 300 men, who were to form a lane towards the prison, to prevent a rescue. Special guards were also placed on Juan de Sayavedra, Cristóbal de Sotelo, Francisco de Chaves, Don Alonso de Montemayor, Don Alonso Enriquez, and the other principal adherents of Almagro.

The Adelantado had been told by Hernando Pizarro that

he would be sent to meet the Governor. He, therefore, felt no apprehension of death, believing that this was true. When a friar arrived with the announcement, he was much disturbed, saying that he could not believe it, and that he would send a request to Hernando Pizarro to come and see him. When he received the message Hernando Pizarro came to the prison and said to Almagro that he was not the only person who had died in this world, nor would others cease to die in that manner. He must understand that the last day of his life had arrived and as he was a Christian he should fear God and prepare his soul. If the kingdom could have been kept at peace while he was alive, he would rejoice that his old age should not end by such a death. Almagro, dismayed at hearing such sad words, was so afflicted that, looking at Hernando Pizarro, he told him that as he was wanting to kill one who had done him so much good, he would thereby gain a reputation for cruelty. He should remember that he was the first rung of the ladder by which he and his brothers had gone up and reached the position they now held. It was at his expense that his brother was able to go to Spain and negotiate with the government, and that he grudged him none of his success. Hernando Pizarro should not, therefore, be a homicide, but should send him to the Governor. If the Governor should pronounce his death sentence he would submit to his fate, and if he should be given life, he would continue his former friendship. Continuing his appeal, the Adelantado said to Hernando Pizarro that if that course was not suitable, he should be sent to His Majesty where he would receive punishment if he had done wrong. What good could come from his death, and what harm from his remaining alive? His old age was accompanied by such trouble and weariness that he could only live a very short time. Hernando Pizarro showed no sign of compassion whatever at the Adelantado's words, and answered, with much harshness, that Almagro was a gentleman with a name for bravery, and should not show cowardice, and that he must know for certain that his death was inevitable. Almagro, fearing death as all men do, again replied to Hernando Pizarro saying that such

an act as putting him to death should not be allowed, that although Hernando might not feel his death at the present time, in time to come he would rue it, for his royal and Cesarean Majesty, remembering his great services and the countries he had discovered, would punish and avenge it; that if he took thought for the things which gained sympathy for a miserable old age he would remember that his head was broken in many places by the blows he had received during the discovery of that land, and that he had lost an eye. If he had any piety Hernando Pizarro could not fail to give him his life, now he had him in his power, while his death would give serious offence to many important captains of rank who looked for assistance at his hands. Hernando Pizarro retorted by telling him to confess, for he must die, and there was no help for it.

Presently the Adelantado confessed, with much contrition; and by virtue of a decree of the Emperor our Lord, empowering him to nominate a successor to his government, he named his son Diego, leaving Diego de Alvarado his guardian until he should come of age. Then, making his will, he left the King as his heir, saying that he had a large sum of money in his own possession, or in that of the Governor, and that a full account of it should be rendered, and he prayed His Majesty to show favour to his son. Then, turning to Alonso de Toro, he said "Now, Toro, you have seen the last of me in the flesh." The entrances of the street and the square were guarded, for when it was known to the men of Chile that the Adelantado was to be executed, there was great tribulation among them. The Indians all mourned, saying that Almagro was a good captain, from whom they always received kind treatment.

When he had made his will, Hernando Pizarro ordered him to be given the *garrote* in the prison, for he did not dare to bring him out: and this was done. Then the body was brought out on a stretcher, with a crier, who shouted:

This is the justice that His Majesty and Hernando Pizarro in his name, order to be done to this man as a disturber of these realms, and because he invaded the city of Cuzco with banners flying, occupied it by force, and seized the magistracy, gave battle to the captain Alonso de Alvarado at the bridge of Abancay,

imprisoned him and others, and has committed offences and caused deaths.

For these and other things the proclamation announced that he was deserving of death. That gallant gentleman, Diego de Alvarado, deeply lamented the Adelantado's death, calling Hernando Pizarro a tyrant, and saying that in return for the Adelantado having spared his life, he had killed the Adelantado. The body was taken to the foot of the gallows where the head was cut off, and the corpse of the ill-fated Adelantado was then removed to the house of Hernan Ponce de León, where it was placed in a shroud.

Hernando Pizarro came out, with his head covered by a large hat, and all the captains and principal people came out to accompany the noble corpse. With much honour it was taken to the monastery of Our Lady of Mercy, where his bones rest. He died at the age of sixty-three years. He was a man of short stature, with ugly features, but of great courage and endurance. He was liberal, but given to boasting, letting his tongue run on, sometimes without bridling it. He was well informed and, above all, much in awe of the King. A great part of the discovery of these kingdoms was due to him. Putting aside the opinions held by others I will only say that he was a native of Aldea del Rey, of such humble parentage that it may be said of him that his lineage began and ended with himself¹.

¹ "Like Francisco Pizarro," says Prescott, "he [Almagro] was a foundling." But something at least is known about Pizarro's parents: of Almagro's, nothing.

CHAPTER LXXI

How HERNANDO PIZARRO left the city of Cuzco with a large company, and went to the camp of PEDRO DE CANDIA, and how he ordered retribution to be inflicted on Captain MESA.

As soon as Hernando Pizarro had cut off the head of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, he wrote letters giving an account of it to his brother the Governor who was now on his way to the city of Cuzco. He had managed to make friends with the captains Juan de Sayavedra, Vasco de Guevara, and other principal partizans of Almagro who were in the city. Finding that Pedro de Candia was nearing the city with his followers Hernando Pizarro explained the situation and took counsel with the captains Diego de Rojas, Pedro de Castro, his brother Gonzalo Pizarro, and Pedro de Valdivia. It was agreed that Hernando Pizarro should leave Cuzco with an ample force, to be secure against disorder and the committal of any affront. When this was settled, he ordered Captain Peranzures and those we have named to come with him, and he took with him four hundred Spaniards, horse and foot, saying that he went with such a force lest the men of Chile should oppose him, who had killed their leader. At least everyone in Cuzco thought that this was the reason, and so he marched out of the city. Travelling rapidly along the royal Inca road of Collasuyo, he reached a village which, at that time, belonged to Gomez de León. It was only half a league from the camp of Pedro de Candia; and everyone in it knew from the Indians that Hernando Pizarro was near at hand. They said that he had come with a great force of Spaniards, and that he had put Almagro to death. Mesa and Villagran were much disturbed at the news that Hernando Pizarro was coming, and that Almagro was dead. Although they felt this fear, they did not try to escape lest that step should disclose what they intended to do, which they believed to be a secret. They agreed among themselves to carry on and, when they

saw a chance, to kill Hernando. Hernando Pizarro himself was not unprepared. When he arrived at the village he ordered twenty of his friends and servants to get ready to accompany him to Pedro de Candia, and he told each one to take a falcon on his wrist, so as not to alarm the people in Candia's camp. The rest of his force was ordered to remain until his return. He chose to go with such a small escort so that those who had plotted to kill him might not suspect that he knew of their treason, nor absent themselves, from fear of being arrested, and kindle a flame of opposition which might cause the deaths of several Spaniards before it was extinguished. Thus accompanied, Hernando Pizarro arrived at the camp of Pedro de Candia, many of his companions carrying falcons to give the idea that sport was his chief object.

Pedro de Candia, hearing that Hernando Pizarro was so near, came out to receive him accompanied by his principal officers. Villagran and Mesa, when they saw him come with so little caution, believed that he knew nothing of their plot and, greatly delighted at it, looked out for a convenient opportunity to kill him. Hernando Pizarro received Pedro de Candia and his officers in a very friendly way, keeping what he really felt concealed in his breast, embracing them and saying that he had come from Cuzco to give them a new commission and authority to proceed on an expedition in the direction that might seem best to them. They rejoiced at this reception, and such friendly words, and returned with him to his camp, where they dined and passed a very pleasant time.

Wishing to have the promoters of the conspiracy against him brought to his camp where he might arrest them and punish those who were guilty, without any disturbance, Hernando Pizarro proposed to Pedro de Candia that, as their camps were so close together, he and his captains should come there to discuss the arrangements for a new expedition. Pedro de Candia said that it would be a good plan, and they would do so. Hernando Pizarro and his friends then retired to their quarters, accompanied by Pedro de Candia and his principal captains. When they arrived where Pizarro's men were stationed, they found them all ready and armed accord-

ing to orders. Hernando Pizarro then ordered Pedro de Candia, Mesa, and Villagran to be arrested and confined in one tent under strict guard. Candia was astonished, declaring that he had done nothing whatever to deserve imprisonment. Mesa and Villagran were dismayed, foreseeing the certainty of death. Hernando Pizarro ordered their statements and confessions to be taken down and they declared that there were many in the conspiracy, and confessed distinctly all they had plotted. Hernando Pizarro learning that these two were the instigators of the plot considered that the evidence against them was sufficient, and condemned them to death. As soon as captain Mesa had confessed he was taken out to be hanged, and when the rope was being fitted, he said that the fault was all his, and that many of those he had named were innocent; the rope being then passed round his throat, he died at once.

Then Gonzalo Pizarro and the captains Peranzures, Diego de Rojas, Pedro Puertocarrero and others went to Hernando Pizarro and begged him to spare the life of captain Villagran, as the conspiracy had come to an end with the death of Mesa. They were so pressing that Hernando Pizarro spared the life of Villagran just as his head was about to be cut off. With the death of Mesa, the banishment of Villagran, and a reprimand to the others, Hernando Pizarro was satisfied without inflicting further punishment. When he knew that Pedro de Candia was quite ignorant of the plot, he was released and assured that there was nothing against him.

As it was not desirable to have so many Spaniards assembled together unless they were on an expedition of discovery Hernando Pizarro ordered both camps to be struck, and the men to march to a province called AYAVIRI. Moreover, he considered that on a long journey that was likely to yield very profitable results, it was necessary to appoint a captain who was experienced in war and would be feared by the soldiers, and Pedro de Candia, although he had expended a very large amount of gold on the enterprise, was not a man of sufficient ability for the post. There was in his company a captain well versed in the art of war, a native of Sahagun named Peranzures, who was respected, liked, and very liberal. Hernando

Pizarro cast his eye upon him and appointed him to command the proposed expedition, which was to invade the country of the CHUNCHOS. Certainly this expedition caused the destruction of many natives who were of more value than what was sought for, for over 7000 of them perished, and they were reduced to such straits that they had to eat each other. They also took the flower of the beautiful girls, few of whom escaped death in the forests.

[*For Chapters LXXII-LXXXV, and Chapter XCII, see the Appendices.*]

CHAPTER LXXXVI

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO left Jauja and at the bridge of Abancay heard of the death of ALMAGRO, how he arrived at Cuzco, and how HERNANDO and GONZALO PIZARRO, with other Spaniards, went to the province of the Collao.

WHEN the captains Alonzo de Alvarado, Mercadillo, and Vergara had departed on their conquests, the Governor wrote letters to his servants at Lima, ordering them to treat honourably Don Diego the son of Almagro, and Gomez de Alvarado, and to provide them with all they required. Diego Almagro the lad asked the Governor to remember the old friendship with his father, and desired him not to consent to any dishonour or affront being put upon him, nor that his life should be taken; for although Hernando Pizarro had announced in Cuzco that he was not to be killed, many doubted if he would keep his word. The Governor replied that he need not be alarmed, that his father would live and the old friendship would be resumed, and that he need have

no doubt about it. With these words of the Governor the lad was, in some measure, consoled; and soon afterwards he took his leave, accompanied by Gomez de Alvarado, Juan de Herrada, and others of the men of Chile. They arrived at Lima and were comfortably lodged and entertained in the Governor's house.

After some days at Jauja, the Governor decided to set out for Cuzco, travelling by the Incas' royal road. On arriving at the bridge of Abancay he received news of the death of Almagro. Some would have it that he knew it before, through some Indian runner, and that he dissembled, being secretly glad. Others go so far as to say that, when the trial was closed, Hernando Pizarro sent to ask what should be done with Almagro, and whether he should be beheaded, and that the Governor replied that Almagro should be treated in such a way that he never again could give rise to dissensions and civil wars. Leaving these rumours aside as idle talk, I heard the bishop García Díaz affirm—and he gave me his oath—that the Governor had no news whatever of Almagro until he reached the bridge of Abancay, nor did he send any order to Hernando Pizarro.

When he saw the letters and heard what had taken place, he sat for a long time with his eyes cast down, and appeared to be sorrowful, presently shedding some tears: whether feigned or not only God our Lord knows. I have heard it said by some of those who were with the Governor, that on receipt of the news trumpets were sounded as a sign of joy. The news of the death soon spread to all those who were with the Governor, and he ordered the factor Illan Suárez de Carbajal and the others who formed the escort, to press onwards, as he was anxious to reach Cuzco. When he arrived there the magistrates and citizens came out to receive him, showing great satisfaction at his arrival, and addressing him in flattering speeches, giving him to understand that it was well done to give battle to the Adelantado and to take his life.

As the Governor was a man of little discernment he passed over these matters in silence.

Hernando Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro, with other captains

had left Cuzco for the region of the Collao; for as soon as Hernando Pizarro had taken Pedro de Candia's men from him and given them to Peranzures, being clear of the province of Canas, he determined to go to the Collao in search of gold and silver, his object being to get as much money as possible, in order to return to Spain. For this he levied forced contributions from all the chiefs of the pueblos, taking all he could get and treating them very ill.

When the result of the battle between Hernando Pizarro and Almagro was known in the Collao, the people [Indians] assembled to make war upon any captain who might come to that province. Hearing how many Spaniards were in Cuzco, they did not doubt that most of them would set out in that direction. When news came that Hernando Pizarro had passed Ayaviri a large force gathered together on the Desaguadero. When he arrived at Chucuito, the news came to Hernando Pizarro that he would be opposed, and on reaching the lake and finding the bridge, which was built of wood, destroyed, and seeing the Indians shouting on the other side of the Desaguadero, the Spaniards were doubtful what to do. Many mounted men pushed their horses into the stream, at great risk owing to the depth of the river. A disaster resulted for four of them were drowned, and another, who reached the other side, was captured by the Indians, taken to an ancient temple, and sacrificed to their devils. Gabriel¹ de Rojas went back to the pueblo of Cepita, collected some timber, dressed it, and made a sort of bridge which enabled them to cross to the other side of the river. They then found that the Indians had already fled. While marching through the pueblos of the Collao there were some skirmishes with the Indians, and Hernando Pizarro secured all the treasure he could lay hands on. Seeing that the time had come when his brother Don Francisco Pizarro must have reached Cuzco, he decided to return, leaving his brother Gonzalo, Diego de Rojas, and Garcilaso de la Vega with all the troop to make war in the Collao, and to pass on to do the same in Las Charcas.

¹ This seems to be a mistake. Should be Diego?

CHAPTER LXXXVII

How there were very evil things done in Peru in those times, and great sins committed; and what passed between the honourable gentleman DIEGO DE ALVARADO and the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

MANY faults have been committed by the Spaniards in this kingdom. Assuredly I am sorry to have to relate such deeds of my countrymen, who committed them without considering the benefits they have received from God our Lord who vouchsafed that they, and not people of some other nation, should acquire such kingdoms and provinces as are included in these Indies. We have surely seen His justice, and the punishment He inflicts on the wicked. As to what happened I shall be a true historian, and will now relate all that took place, which is that, as soon as the battle of Las Salinas had been fought, many of those who had been on the side of the Pizarros, without fear of God or of the King, broke into the provinces of Cunti-suyu and Chinchasuyu, to plunder the natives. When these hid their flocks the Spaniards tortured them with cords until they gave them up, and carrying off great droves they took them for sale at Lima for next to nothing. When the unfortunate natives went to beg justice from the Marquis he turned them away saying that they lied. So they wandered from hill to hill, complaining of their ill-treatment. The *alcaldes* and *alguacils* also proved to be heedless, and the wives of chiefs and any beautiful girls were taken in chains to be mistresses of the Spaniards; and if their husbands, complaining, asked for them back, they were murdered, or beaten with sticks or sword scabbards. Some Spaniards did even viler things, the worst among them being Gonzalo de los Nidos, who was afterwards hung as a traitor at Cuzco, and one Alonzo de Orihuela who is still living in this year 1550. These received grants of certain chiefs and Indians, and, after having robbed them of all they possessed, they put the chiefs into pits up to their waists, and then demanded

gold. They had already given all they had, and could give no more, so the Spaniards flogged them with whips, then, bringing more earth, they covered them up to the shoulders, and finally up to their mouths. I even believe that, if I am not deceived, a great number of natives were burnt to death. Other things of the same sort were done in various parts of the country, and the perpetrators remained unpunished, as we have seen.

The Governor, Don Francisco Pizarro, was now in Cuzco. Diego de Alvarado had been appointed the executor of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, who, by virtue of a decree of the King, had nominated his son Diego as Governor of New Toledo, and left this same Diego de Alvarado as his guardian and administrator. With much courtesy and gentleness Diego de Alvarado represented the matter to the Governor. He said that, leaving the question of the city of Cuzco on one side, His Majesty had granted the government of New Toledo to the Adelantado; and that the Adelantado, by authority from the King, had left the government to his son Diego; and to him, Diego de Alvarado, until the lad should come of age. The Governor replied curtly that his government had no limit and that it extended as far as Flanders, and that, therefore, he would not divide off the province of New Toledo. He added that avarice, and not justice, had been the cause of the late war. Diego de Alvarado then applied for his affidavits and proceeded to Lima, but the Governor sent an order that he should be detained there, fearing that he might make mischief if he went to Spain. Although steps were taken, yet Diego de Alvarado managed to get on board a ship in the port of Callao, and sailed from Peru for Spain. At this time the Governor was very gracious to those who had been on his side, while the men of Chile were scattered over the provinces, knowing how hateful their presence was to the Governor. To many of those who fought on the side of his brothers the Governor made rich grants, valuing more the services of those who had fought in the late battle than those of men who had served and laboured in explorations and conquest.

The king, Manco Inca Yupanqui, had retired into the fastnesses of the Andes, with the Orejones and old headmen who had made war on the Spaniards. As the town of San Juan de la Vitoria de Guamanga was not then founded, and the traders of Lima carried their goods to Cuzco, the Indians attacked them and, after seizing the goods, either murdered the owners or took them alive; and returning with them to Viticos, their principal seat, tortured them in the presence of their women, revenging themselves for the injuries they had suffered, by impaling them, forcing sharp stakes into the lower parts of their victims, until they came out at their mouths. The news of this caused such terror that many persons with private business, and others on public service, dared not go to Cuzco without company well armed.

From all these troubles the country would have been free if the devil had not wrought such discords between the Governors with their rivalry and mad contentions. With united forces they could easily have subdued the whole breadth of the land to the westward. Having reached the Ocean sea, from what I have seen, the world would have been almost entirely discovered. But why do I want to enlarge so much? In the past year two hundred thousand men united against one hundred and eighty Spaniards, and what they gained was to leave more than eighty thousand dead. For this reason, when treating of these wars, I will always condemn the sin which was committed.

As Don Francisco Pizarro retained some relics of the energy of former days, leaving the affairs of the men of Chile, he showed that he did not view lightly the evils done by that barbarian, and was anxious to redress the injury. He ordered a force to be assembled and gave the command to the factor Illan Suárez de Carbajal, a native of Talavera, with instructions to defeat the Inca and make the roads safe. The factor, with the men assigned to him, marched from Cuzco to Vilcas, whence he proceeded to the province of Guamanga and encamped near Uripa, a place four leagues from another pueblo called Casabamba, because he had need to collect supplies. Manco Inca, when he heard of the approach of

the Spaniards, wanted to retreat into the mountains; for having come down on a foray, he was not very far from the Spaniards. The factor Illan Suárez heard of the proximity of the Inca from the inhabitants, and decided to send some active Spaniards who, from some hiding place, could ascertain where he was and capture him. Summoning an officer named Villadiego, he ordered him to go with thirty shield, arquebus and crossbowmen, to a bridge where the Inca was said to be encamped, rather less than three leagues away, and there to endeavour to surprise and capture him.

Villadiego started in the second night watch and arrived at the bridge, which spanned a furious torrent. They crossed the bridge, and had not gone much farther, when some Indians reported that the Inca was near-by on the summit of a ridge, with only some eighty men; for the rest of his force had gone on, and he was about to follow them as soon as he had received trustworthy intelligence about the Spaniards. When Villadiego heard this he was delighted, thinking that it would be an easy thing to capture or kill the Inca, and that he would gain much honour and great rewards. He went on madly, without thinking how difficult the ridge might be to scale, nor moreover, that it was necessary to have horses with him as a support, if he should be attacked by many Indians.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

How VILLADIEGO, with his thirty Spaniards, went in pursuit of the Inca, without waiting for the horses, or sending to tell the factor; and how, when tired and worn out, the Inca attacked him with eighty men and killed twenty-four Spaniards, the rest escaping by flight.

IT may be true that, at the time when Villadiego left the camp, the factor told him that, if he knew that the Inca was

not on his guard, and was in a position where he could do him damage he, Villadiego, was to attack and capture him. But he also ordered that if the Inca was accounted to be in a strong position, and that the Spaniards might suffer loss, he should retire at once and report the state of affairs, that such action should be taken as might seem best to all. But, as Villadiego had only recently arrived from Spain, and had not the needful experience of war with the Indians, he urged on his men with the temerity of a very young man, without considering what might ensue, boasting of honour and fame, and in order that he could talk about it, saying:

Egad! are the mounted men to have all the glory, while those on foot count for nothing. Well, as they had come without any horses, and knew that the Inca was near, so let them all get ready under arms and go in search of him, for they will easily defeat him and obtain rich spoil. If they waited for orders the Inca would meanwhile escape.

As it was said that the Inca had a great part of his treasure with him, none of the Spaniards refused to advance; on the contrary, all answered that they should go on without further delay. Villadiego went to defeat eighty Indians with thirty Spaniards, who had among them five arquebuses, seven cross-bows, and the rest shield men. It would not have been a great deed even if they had captured or killed the Inca. Usually fifty Spaniards have the courage to attack a thousand or two thousand Indians.

Moreover, it would have been well if they had started at such an hour that their fatigue on the march should not weaken them to such an extent that they could show little resistance, and be defeated in the way I will now describe. Villadiego determined to advance against the Inca, and set out with his thirty Spaniards, arriving, towards noon, at the ascent of a rugged mountain pass. Although the path to the summit was steep and broken, horses might have well been taken up it, thus avoiding the disaster which was to come. The factor's camp was only two leagues distant yet Villadiego did not care to send for any such help. With a great desire to reach the place where the Inca was posted he pressed on up

the mountains. As it was a long climb the men got tired, and were oppressed by the great heat of the sun, but they thought of nothing but the spoil they expected from the Inca. Although they thought they could take no harm from the sun this was not so, for the sun shone with such ardour in those mountains, that they might as well have been travelling over the sands of Tangaraya, or along the coast of Tierra Firme, where in many parts the heat is most intense. Yet, of a truth, in these sierras and frigid provinces the sun is, at times, as powerful as in the places I have mentioned and on this day, when the Spaniards were ascending the mountain, it was as hot as we have stated. As the men were perspiring and there was no water to quench their thirst, they became so exhausted that some of them fell down quite worn out and became unconscious, as though they were attacked by fever. After a league and a half of ascent, they fell and rose, recovering breath in the hope of finding water and being able to rest; but they could find none.

Manco Inca, having got word of the approach of the thirty Spaniards, and of the fatigue and exhaustion from which they were suffering, as well as that they were without horses, addressed his men. He was mounted on one of the four horses he possessed, with a lance in his hand. He told them to prepare, with bold hearts, to march against the Spaniards who were coming, who must be half dead with heat and thirst. He then ordered three chieftains of his lineage to mount the three other horses, and all were to advance against the Spaniards who were overcome with thirst, their throats parched and almost dry. Villadiego had halted them near the summit, and they tried to shade themselves with some canes and cloaks. A look-out was kept by five or six active youths, who were not so tired as the others. These had walked but a short distance when they heard the noise of Manco Inca coming to attack them with his men and horses. Directly these were in sight, the look-outs ran back without feeling either thirst or fatigue, to warn their companions. Villadiego, hearing that the Indians were so near, struck a light in great haste, and lit the matches and,

showing a brave spirit, loaded the arquebuses. He told the Spaniards not to be dismayed because they had no horses, nor to fear the Indians, for God our Lord would be with them and would help them. He told them to arm, but they were so weak with thirst and fatigue, that although the enemy was so close they did not feel as if they could defend themselves, saying that, owing to Villadiego's want of experience in war, they must all die. Although they spoke thus, some of the spirit usually shown by Spaniards remained, for they promptly seized their arms.

Manco Inca was now quite close, and he sent off one wing of his Indians to surround the enemy, holding them very cheap seeing that they were without horses and that he had the advantage of the higher ground, whence he began to shoot off flights of arrows and darts. Villadiego fired his arquebus and killed an Indian, and although the Spaniards, with the other arquebuses and crossbows, killed some more Indians, they could not make the others retreat. On the contrary, excited by the combat, with a sudden charge and great yell they rushed upon Villadiego, whose arm was broken by a club. Manco Inca charged on horseback and the fight went on for two hours. But the Spaniards were so tired that they could not fight as our countrymen usually do. Twenty-four were ruthlessly killed by the Indians, including Villadiego, who had fought well, for before his arm was broken he killed three Indians, and afterwards he showed no slackness until, from the many wounds and blows they gave him, he fell lifeless on the ground. Of the thirty Christians only six escaped who, by swiftness of foot and to save their lives, ran so fast that they reached the factor's camp. In spite of their activity it would not have sufficed them, but for the help of some friendly Indians who carried them in hammocks and on their shoulders into camp. The Inca Manco, after he had killed these Spaniards, ordered many of the friendly Indians who came with them, to have their hands cut off, others their noses, others their eyes to be put out; and he sent some of the heads of the Spaniards to the valley of Viticos where he had his quarters. He also ordered many more Indians to join

him from Viticos, that he might be able to kill more Christians, if they should come against him.

When the factor Illan Suárez de Carbajal heard of the disaster, he was much distressed that so many Spaniards should have been killed, because they had not troubled to send for horses. He ordered great vigilance to be observed in placing sentries and look-out men, so as not to be taken by surprise if the Inca should come against them. He then sent messengers to report to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro what had happened, and asking for further instructions. Meanwhile he intended to remain in his present position.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

How GONZALO PIZARRO, and the Spaniards who were with him, went on subduing the provinces of the Collao and Las Charcas, and of the great straits to which the Indians were reduced.

AFTER Hernando Pizarro left the Collao he went to Cuzco, and Gonzalo Pizarro, with the Spaniards who remained with him, went to the valley of Cochabamba. The barbarian inhabitants of those regions were not yet subdued, and did not then wholly understand how indomitable were the Spaniards, and how great their fortitude, although not a few of the natives had lost their lives at the siege of Cuzco. They now decided to get together the largest force possible, to march against Gonzalo Pizarro and kill him, and they sent out messengers naming a day when they would unite for the purpose I have stated. Gonzalo Pizarro came to the valley well prepared, for though he had not more than seventy Spaniards with him, they included several well-tried and experienced men, among them being the captains :

DIEGO DE ROJAS

DON PEDRO DE PUERTOCARRERO

GABRIEL DE ROJAS

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA

PEDRO DE CASTRO

LOPE DE MENDOZA

DIEGO LOPEZ DE ZUÑIGA

and others

Thirty thousand Indians had assembled under a very distinguished chief named Trorinaseo, and with him were the lords of Consora and Pocona, and the chief of the Chichas, who came to aid him in the war. They had all the arms with which they are accustomed to fight, such as slings, darts, clubs and arrows, and their chiefs and captains all came resolved either to die or to slaughter the Spaniards.

Gonzalo Pizarro heard of the assembly of the Indians and laughed heartily at it, saying:

By our Lady, when I am mounted on a horse, I don't mind whether there are a thousand or a hundred thousand, and I do not know what can induce these simple people to try their fortunes against Spaniards, for experience should have shown them how little they can do against us. For two hundred thousand assembled to kill one hundred and eighty of us in Cuzco, but what they gained in that enterprise was to leave eighty thousand dead behind them. Let them come, if they think that the same will not happen again.

When this occurred, Gonzalo Pizarro was lodging in native buildings at Cochabamba, and he gave orders that great vigilance was to be observed, in case the enemy should approach. All the Spaniards kept their arms by their sides, ready to go out against the Indians.

The leaders of the native army kept on advancing believing that they could kill all the Spaniards, and make a drinking-cup of Gonzalo Pizarro's skull; and some priests from their temples who came with them invoked the devil to help them, sacrificing to the sun, and carrying with them idols made of gold and silver and of wood, before which they cried aloud, promising to offer many sacrifices in their temples or *huacas*. When they had intelligence of the number of the Spaniards, they formed up their squadrons according to their nationalities and advanced towards the Spaniards. Exaggerated reports of all that passed came to Gonzalo Pizarro, and he was told that the Indians were so numerous that there was great danger. He laughed at such remarks, and said there need be no fear that the Indians could trouble them. "Let each man saddle his horse, and have his

weapons in hand, so that, if it became necessary, all would be ready." The Indians arrived near the buildings where the Spaniards were encamped, surrounding them on all sides, and believing that they would take them offhand. Gonzalo Pizarro, although the Indians were shouting and making a great noise, showed no sign that he thought much of them. As the night was approaching he ordered all the Spaniards to remain quiet, until he gave orders what was to be done, and to do nothing but keep watch, and go the rounds with regularity. During the night the Indians made great fires and, as these bestial people love excess in eating and drinking, they did nothing all night but empty great jars of chicha into their stomachs, which their female servants poured out for them, and they shouted loudly saying:

Wait a little, Spaniards, very soon the head of your captain Gonzalo Pizarro will be in our possession, and we will make a cup of his skull, out of which all the chiefs of this province shall drink. Do not think that we shall fight so feebly as we did at the siege of Cuzco. Now we understand war and how to wage it, and the sun will favour us so that we may kill every one of you.

The Spaniards were told by their *yanacunas* or native servants what the Indians were saying, and they laughed at it, although they were completely surrounded by the enemy. It was scarcely dawn when the captain Gonzalo Pizarro donned his arms, and was mounted on horseback with lance in hand.

With good reason when I write of Gonzalo Pizarro and of his deeds in those times, and his steadfast service to the King, I mourn and feel very sad at the worldly necessity that forces men to fall from their first estate, and sink to the perpetration of vile and detestable deeds. Better would it have been for Gonzalo Pizarro to have died at this time, than to have lived to perpetrate such hideous deeds, that he will for ever be looked upon as a traitor, which he afterwards was.

But leaving this sad reflexion, Gonzalo Pizarro formed his men into three divisions. One he entrusted to the captain Garcilaso de la Vega, the second to the captain Oñate, with whom was the Inca Paulo, and the third he led himself. The

Indians had already assembled in such numbers that they surrounded the Spaniards on all sides, yelling and making a great noise. As Gonzalo Pizarro was well versed in Indian warfare he ordered Garcilaso de la Vega to oppose the Indian array at one point, with a certain number of Spaniards, while he himself would follow after. In order that the Spanish infantry in the pueblo might not be without some cavalry support, captain Gabriel¹ de Rojas was ordered to command a certain number of horsemen for this duty. All the Spaniards were in good heart, and held the great army of Indians very cheap, for God gave them courage. Garcilaso de la Vega, with his squadron, moved against the Indians who, when they saw his approach, shouted still louder. But when Garcilaso de la Vega saw the fields covered with enemies, he sent a Spaniard, named Robalo, who reported the great numbers to Gonzalo Pizarro, which indeed he could himself see. Gonzalo and Oñate had already advanced with their squadrons and with all the boldness and valour with which the Spaniards are accustomed to attack the Indians, or indeed all the nations under the sun, they resolutely charged the Indians with the cry of Santiago the Apostle. The Indians numbering seventy thousand, seeing that the Spaniards numbered only seventy, and believing that they could overpower them even if unarmed, boldly dashed in among them, where many were killed with swords and lances. As the fortune of the Spaniards is due to tenacity of purpose, so that of the Indians fails owing to vacillation and cowardice. So fearing the fury of the horses and the blows from the mounted Spaniards, the Indians not only ceased to shout, but lost courage for maintaining the fight. Thus, although the chiefs of Consora and Pocona, with ten thousand Indians advanced towards Garcilaso de la Vega and endeavoured to encourage their men, this did not suffice. The chief of the Chichas had given way before the party under Gabriel¹ de Rojas and though the Spaniards were fatigued and exhausted by much fighting, the Indians fled with all possible speed, and the victory remained with our Spaniards, the chief of the Chichas exclaiming, as he ran, *Xalluy cona*

¹ Diego?

tucay guaa” which means, in our language, “Truly we are all dead men.” The Spaniards gave hearty thanks to our Lord for the victory he had given them, and continued the pursuit from nine in the forenoon until vespers; during which time they killed more than 800 Indians. Paulo Inca, with his people, also did much damage to the enemy.

CHAPTER XC

Of what more was done by GONZALO PIZARRO and how DON MARTIN DE GUZMAN came from Cuzco by order of the Governor; also how HERNANDO PIZARRO, learning what had passed, returned to join GONZALO PIZARRO and the other Spaniards.

AFTER defeating the Indians the Spaniards pursued them for some distance, and those who escaped, terrified by their experiences, scattered among the pueblos, each one going to his home with no intention of engaging in another such contest. Gonzalo Pizarro had information that a number of natives, in the valley of Pocona, were coming to help those who had already been conquered. So he sent Garcilaso de la Vega, with twenty horse and ten shield men, to see if this was true, and if so to disperse them. Garcilaso set out and, arriving at the valley of Pocona, he saw a thousand Indians who had assembled to give help. The native warriors seeing how few the Spaniards were, came down to the plain in the belief that they could easily kill them and their horses. This was a mistake, for the Spaniards, as soon as they saw the Indians on level ground, put spurs to their horses, and dashed amongst them, killing four hundred. The rest, seeing the havoc, turned their backs and fled. The Spaniards following them across the plain drove them into the fastnesses of the sierra and then returned very joyfully to their camp.

The news of the war which the Indians waged upon Gonzalo Pizarro soon reached Hernando, who set out in great haste, and soon joined his brother again. The news also reached the

Governor Don Francisco Pizarro at Cuzco, who sent forty men, under captain Don Martin de Guzman, a native of Sevilla, to reinforce his brother with all speed. Guzman gladly accepted the duty, and in a few days joined Gonzalo Pizarro. The captains were all agreed that certain citizens of Cuzco should be sent to the Governor to report the great victory of his brother Gonzalo Pizarro. The messengers departed and soon arrived at that city. When the Governor received the account of what had happened he rejoiced, especially at hearing that his brother Gonzalo was safe and well, for he loved him dearly. As Hernando Pizarro was very desirous of going to Spain, he arranged to go back to Cuzco, after he had first made peace with one of the principal chiefs of those provinces. He then set out for Cuzco, leaving Gonzalo Pizarro in chief command. The Spaniards went to the valley of Andamarca where the chief of Consora came to them peaceably, the Spaniards receiving him gladly, telling him that they knew how to make war and also how to preserve peace.

The conquest of the provinces of Charcas and the Collao was still continued, and as they were so extensive some of the Christians said that a city should be founded; others asked of what use were those Indians, and what profit was to be gained there? Thus it was that they held in little esteem the greatest riches that have been found for many years, nor do we read that such rich mines have been discovered in any other part of the world. The Spaniards advanced five leagues farther west and were met peaceably by a principal chief named Anquimarca, and the chief of the Moyos named Taraque, also the chief of the Chichas, who promised obedience to the Emperor and King our Lord, and to maintain peace. Seeing the satisfactory condition of these provinces, the large population, and the reported existence of valuable silver mines, Gonzalo Pizarro determined to leave Diego de Rojas in charge and to return to Cuzco to make a report to the Governor. All commended his decision, and he departed, leaving the captain Diego de Rojas in charge of the provinces of Charcas with 140 Spaniards horse and foot, where he remained until the city of Plata was founded and peopled.

CHAPTER XCI

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO, being in Cuzco, heard of the death of captain VILLADIEGO and the other Spaniards, and how he left Cuzco to join the factor; and of the founding of the City of Guamanga.

THE Governor Don Francisco Pizarro was much distressed when he received the news, at Cuzco, of the defeat of Villadiego by the Inca. He ordered seventy Spaniards, horse and foot, to get ready, and they started from Cuzco without delay, and arrived at the camp where the factor was awaiting him.

Manco Inca knew of everything that passed. He had been joined by many more of his Indians, and was very proud of the victory he had gained. The Indians said that they would not stop at the number of Spaniards they had already killed, for the sun and their other deities up to the great Tice Viracocha would support them in killing many others. But this was mere boasting for they never put themselves in a position of manifest danger; merely attacking on the roads, or from thickets, those who travelled from one place to another.

When they heard that the Governor had joined the factor they retired to the heights of the sierra, until they could find out what he intended to do.

When the Governor and the factor had joined forces they received reports from friendly Indians that the Inca was not far off. Three captains, with parties well prepared, were sent in three different directions to look for him. The Inca, having spies on all the roads, knew of their approach, and that they were enquiring where the Inca's camp was to be found. He did not consider it advisable to await the fury of the Spaniards, so, after taking counsel with his captains and the most venerable of the Orejones, he resolved to retreat to Viticos, for neither the Spaniards nor their horses could penetrate into the remote fastnesses of the Andes; and carrying off the relics of the Spaniards they had killed, they returned to the mountains.

The Spanish detachments continued their search for some

days, and then, when they heard the news, returned to the Governor and told him of the Inca's escape.

Taking into consideration the great distance between Cuzco and Lima, and that there was considerable traffic between the two cities, that the Inca had rebelled against the Imperial Government, and had ceased to be friendly to the Spaniards, and that travelling Spaniards ran great risks, and many of them had been killed, the Governor came to the conclusion that the best remedy for these evils would be to found a city halfway between the two. He took the opinions on this point of the factor and of Father García Díaz and others, and decided to found this city in the province of Guamanga, giving it for boundaries from Jauja to the other side of the bridge of Vilcas, with the districts extending on either side, the whole of which region was assigned to citizens of Cuzco and Lima.

Those citizens remonstrated, saying that where their grants had already been made there ought to be no alteration in order to take lands from them and give them to others. In consequence the order which the Governor gave for this settlement was, that those who held Indians within the boundaries assigned to the new city, and also held them in Lima or Cuzco, must choose in which place they intended to reside; then Indians would be given to them there.

Although some were annoyed at it, the Governor then founded the city of San Juan de la Vitoria, which is in the province of Guamanga, leaving there some twenty-four Spaniards as citizens, and forty more to guard the city. Captain Francisco de Cárdenas remained there as the Governor's lieutenant, and inflicted severe punishment on some pueblos which were in rebellion, killing and burning no small number of Indians.

After the Governor had founded the city, he returned to Cuzco.

At this time, on account of the sea pirates, His Majesty sent a fleet for the treasure from the Indies, and gave the command to a distinguished gentleman of Ávila, named Blasco Nuñez Vela, and during the voyage he endeavoured to do good service to His Majesty, and took home the gold and silver that had arrived at Panamá.

Ceballos had already gone to Spain from Peru and given to His Royal Majesty an account of the great services of Don Francisco Pizarro; and as the King is so liberal and grateful to those who serve him, at the prayer of the same Governor he created him a marquis, with a grant to have sixteen thousand vassals in his marquissate, and for this he sent him a very adequate decree, and did him great honour. With these despatches Ceballos returned to Lima.

After returning to Cuzco, the Marquis Pizarro, a few days later, received the news that a judge was coming, and he entered his chamber to read some letters that he had received. Hernando Pizarro, in presence of a number of gentlemen, said to a page: "What is the Governor doing inside there? It seems to me that if they are bringing him news about a judge, you will have to go from chamber to saloon and from bench to bench, like a San José, and not have a hole where you can put him."

Captain Peranzures had returned from his unsuccessful journey into the country of the Chunchos and arrived at Ayaviri, where he found his brother Gaspar Rodríguez [de Camporredondo] with reinforcements. Shortly afterwards they returned to Cuzco. As Gonzalo Pizarro had also arrived fresh from the provinces of Charcas, giving news respecting them and their large native population, the Marquis determined to found a town there, and while he was in Cuzco he chose the settlers who were to receive grants of Indians there, as well as the magistrates and other officials. He nominated captain Peranzures as his lieutenant, and gave him powers to found the town, and to hand over the caciques to those to whom they had been assigned. Captain Peranzures said that he would undertake the duty, and with those who were appointed to go with him, he set out for Charcas. On arriving where the captain Diego de Rojas was encamped, that officer handed over the command and obeyed Peranzures as the Governor had ordered. The town of Plata was then founded and settled. In my *Book of Foundations* I have written what was needed concerning it.

CHAPTER XCIII

How the Marquis PIZARRO made some arrangements in Cuzco, and how HERNANDO PIZARRO set out for Spain.

THE Marquis Pizarro remained in Cuzco, resting from his labours, after founding the towns of Guamanga and Plata.

Some of the men of Chile went to Lima, where Don Diego, the son of the Adelantado, was now living.

Diego de Alvarado, after leaving Lima, sailed to Tierra Firme, where, at that time, Doctor Robles was the King's judge, to whom Alvarado told in detail all that had happened in Peru, and of the battle between the two Governors, giving him to understand that Hernando Pizarro had been the cause of all the trouble, adding that Hernando was coming with the treasure on his way to Spain. Thence Diego de Alvarado left for Nombre de Dios, and continued his journey to Spain. Doctor Robles thought of arresting Hernando Pizarro if he should come to Panamá.

The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro in the interests of good government was anxious to establish peace with Manco Inca, and sent several messages promising pardon and many advantages to him and his people. But although the messengers arrived at Viticos and gave the messages, the Inca would never leave his stronghold; on the contrary as time went on, his hatred and abhorrence of the Spaniards increased.

Seeing the obduracy and hardness of this barbarian the Governor determined to send Spaniards into the remote interior of the wilds of the Andes and make war upon him with the utmost rigour. He ordered his brother Gonzalo Pizarro to undertake this enterprise and, with the force appointed to accompany him, that captain prepared to leave Cuzco.

Hernando Pizarro, after he had completed the information and evidence against the Adelantado, and collected all the money he could, which was no small amount, was ready to leave Cuzco and proceed to the coast to embark. At the time

of his departure there were some high words between him and the Marquis about certain private matters over which the former felt aggrieved. Then, accompanied by some of his friends, Hernando Pizarro left Cuzco. But at last, as they were brothers, he and the Marquis made friends again, and the latter wrote to His Majesty, and to the members of his High Council, and to other Grandees of Spain.

When Hernando Pizarro was departing he warned the Marquis to be careful of his person and always to go about well attended, lest the men of Chile should attempt some mischief. It was even suggested that, to avoid inconveniences, Don Diego the lad should be sent to Spain, thus to isolate him from the conversation and friendship of the men of his father's party. For Hernando Pizarro went in fear lest, before he was well out of the country, they should make Don Diego a pretext for insurrection and take his own life. The Marquis told him to start upon his journey and get rid of those ideas; but Hernando Pizarro turned again to admonish his brother to be careful of himself, and not to allow any ten of those men from Chile to get together, for they would be sure to conspire to kill him. The Marquis answered that their heads were sureties for his head. When Hernando Pizarro saw the determination of the Marquis, he said no more on that subject. Then bidding farewell to him, and to the citizens of Cuzco, he set out for Lima, embarked in a ship, and returned to Spain by way of Mexico. Before he started Gonzalo Pizarro asked him why he was going to Spain and said that it would be better to wait, lance in hand, and see what would happen. Hernando answered airily, saying that Gonzalo was a boy and did not know the King. It is certain that, during the time Hernando Pizarro was in Peru, he treated the native chiefs well, and was zealous for the King's service, and this was the testimony of all the older generation. When he arrived in Spain he presented himself before his Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies, and was kept a prisoner for many years, in the castle of Medina del Campo. In this year of 1549 we do not know what has been settled about him.

The Marquis Pizarro now determined to leave Cuzco and

visit the provinces of the Collao, in order to satisfy those who considered themselves aggrieved. He quitted Cuzco, accompanied by several gentlemen and attendants, leaving the licentiate De la Gama as his lieutenant and chief magistrate. On the way he turned aside to visit the pueblos of the Indians, who paid him great respect. On reaching a place called Chucuito, he was given a letter signed by Hernando Bachicao, a citizen of Cuzco, in which the Marquis was warned to be careful of his person, as the men of Chile intended to kill him, and that this was openly announced in the city. However, the Marquis laughed at it and took no notice of Bachicao's remarks. Travelling onwards the Marquis arrived at Chuqui-apu¹, where he agreed to stay for two months. During that time the citizens of the town of Plata came to see and converse with him, and to ask for certain things that were needed in the new town. He despatched their business cheerfully, and enjoined good treatment for the natives. After two months the Marquis went to two other pueblos in the Collao, remaining a month and doing the same as he had done at Chuqui-apu. As there were many cavaliers with him who had been in the conquest, and had served with his brother against Almagro, he took counsel with them, and decided to go in person to found a city in the valley of Arequipa, where there were many Indians available for allotment among the settlers. So he set out to form the new city; and with this ends the first book of the civil wars and of other things which happened in Peru.

¹ Now La Paz.

APPENDIX A

(Chapters LVI, LVII, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIII)

RELATING TO

AFFAIRS OF QUITO, CALÍ, AND POPAYÁN

CHAPTER LVI

How the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO appointed LORENZO DE ALDANA to be his Lieutenant-general of the city of Quito and of those near it; and gave him wide powers for the government of the cities which had been settled in the provinces near the equator.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the upper provinces were in such a disturbed state, not on this account did Pizarro cease to resent the fact that Belalcázar's ambition was to govern the equinoctial provinces, and that there was a presumption that His Majesty might make Belalcázar Governor of provinces which he, Pizarro, had sent him to conquer. The Governor saw how badly Belalcázar was supporting him, not only failing to consult him, but pretending to the independent government of the provinces. If the troubles between himself and Almagro had come to an end, Pizarro would have gone himself to Quito with all his forces, and brought Belalcázar to obedience. He gave no credit to what was said by one Cristóbal Daza nor to a cleric named Ocaña, who had come on Belalcázar's part, to ask the Governor not to believe anything that was said of him. Pizarro had a strong desire to undertake the journey, and to chastise those who worked against him, and prevent the destruction of the natives. For news had come that there was a great diminution in the population of Popayán and Cali. The Governor desired to obtain from His Majesty an order that Quito and the neighbouring provinces should be governed by his brother Gonzalo Pizarro. Looking round to decide to whom he could entrust so important a business, he turned his eyes to Lorenzo de Aldana. After consulting his secretary Antonio Picado, he sent for Aldana and told him confidentially that knowing his prudence and his desire to serve His Majesty with the loyalty and zeal that his ancestors had shown, and believing him to be a good friend, he desired to entrust to him a mission of the very greatest importance, in which he would find both honour and profit. Observing that he knew well that Sebastian de Belalcázar was appointed his lieutenant in Quito, that after he entered that kingdom Don Pedro de Alvarado and Don Diego de Almagro went there, and that Belalcázar still remained in those provinces, and that he had given occasion for much disorder, so that the natives are put to flight, he added that Belalcázar had taken many thousands of them from the province

of Quito for the prosecution of further discoveries, and that he cunningly thought to delay and deceive, so that he, Pizarro, should not exercise authority in those parts; and about this he was bound to give a strict account to God our Lord, and to His Majesty.

Notwithstanding his own report, Belalcázar said that he would not obey him, for against the Governor's orders he had arrested Pedro de Puelles, whom he took with him, and thought to gain the government for himself by obtaining support from those who went with him, by failing to punish them, and by allowing them to do whatever they chose.

If it were not for the disputes and discord between himself and the Governor Don Diego de Almagro, he (Pizarro) would go himself to settle that province and punish the captain who was so ill disposed. Hoping that Aldana would carry out his instructions he desired to send him with full powers for all contingencies that might arise, apportioning the provinces among those who were loyal, and taking care that the captain Belalcázar be arrested and sent well guarded to Lima, that he himself might maintain justice as Governor and General for His Majesty over the whole kingdom.

Lorenzo de Aldana replied that he had come from Spain to serve His Majesty, and that if in this expedition he could do good service he was ready to undertake it, and that as soon as the powers and decrees which he should take with him were ready, he would at once set out to comply with his instructions.

CHAPTER LVII

How the captain LORENZO DE ALDANA proceeded to carry out the instructions he had received from the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

THE captain Lorenzo de Aldana was a native of Cáceres. After Pizarro had received the report of Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda and the accountant Antonio Ruiz, who had come as messengers from Quito, he ordered his secretary Antonio Picado to expedite Aldana's business.

It was arranged that Aldana should bear three or four different commissions, fully sufficient and proper for the service on which he was engaged, and they were delivered to him very secretly, so that no one should be wholly acquainted with what powers he carried.

One decree made him judicial commissioner between the captains Belalcázar and Pedro de Puelles, for the Governor thought

that if he came to the province merely as judicial commissioner, Belalcázar would not take up arms or cause any disturbance. Aldana also brought special commissions for the captains Pedro de Añasco, Juan de Ampudía, and Pedro de Puelles, as Lieutenants of the cities, so that, from a desire to command and not be subordinate to Belalcázar, they might help and be on the side of Aldana. He also carried another instruction containing an order to arrest Belalcázar, and he was even advised how this was to be done when he was holding a meeting in some place where he would be unable to resist, if any tumult arose. After his arrest, he was to be sent under a strong guard to Lima. I have seen this despatch with my own eyes. Aldana also held a commission as Lieutenant-general of the Governor, in all the parts which had been settled by Belalcázar, so that if Belalcázar was found to be powerful, and Aldana had not force enough to seize him, such an appointment would secure the same result. Besides these commissions, Aldana was given a general and very sufficient decree annulling all former decrees and ordering obedience to him in all the cities, as if he were the Governor himself. He further had powers to divide the lands among those whom he considered to be most deserving, and it is certain that the division he made is still in force. He was empowered to appoint captains and lieutenants, and to send anyone he might select to settle other provinces. By virtue of this decree he sent the captain Jorge de Robledo to settle the province of Anzerma.

After giving these powers and commissions to Lorenzo de Aldana, as well as others which I need not mention, without anyone except the Governor and Aldana himself, Picado and the bachelor García Díaz being cognizant of them, and merely announcing Aldana's employment as a judicial commissioner, the Governor set out from Lima and Caxca where his camp had been pitched.

CHAPTER LXXIII

How the captain LORENZO DE ALDANA set out from Lima, and proceeded to Quito to carry out the instructions received from the Governor DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

As soon as the captain Lorenzo de Aldana had received all the documents and instructions from the secretary Antonio Picado, and permission from the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro to depart, he took leave of all those gentlemen who were rejoicing at the

capture of the heights of Huaytara, and accompanied by Francisco Hernández, a native of the town of Cáceres, by Pedro Davalos, a native of Toledo, and others, he returned to Lima and then set out for Tumbes. With the powers he had been given as captain he began to raise men to go with him to Quito. While he was at Tumbes he heard that one Diego de Sandoval was in the region of the Cañaris, where the Governor Pizarro shortly before then had assigned to him certain Indians. This man was busily raising men to send to Sebastian de Belalcázar at Popayán. When Aldana learned this, he decided to go with all possible speed to Tomebamba, to preclude Belalcázar from making himself more powerful by acquiring the government of that province and thus belittling the Governor. He set out with the people he had collected, and on the road he met several men who were on their way to join Sandoval.

When he arrived at the Cañaris he had with him 120 Spaniards, among them Cristóbal Daza, who was very friendly with Belalcázar who had sent him as his messenger to the Governor, and one Benito Méndez. These two wished the people to be sent to the captain Belalcázar. This wish arose from the order of Belalcázar to send him men to people the provinces and found new cities, leaving in them his lieutenants, while he proceeded to the Ocean sea, and went to Spain to solicit the government from His Majesty. When this was understood by Aldana, he desired to get Sandoval into his power, and prevent him from doing any mischief in the negotiations. As there was a lack of supplies on the road, he sent his people on ahead, and following after them arrived at Cañari-bamba, which is in that region of the Cañaris. After resting for a few days he went on to Tomebamba. Concealing his purpose from Sandoval and Cristóbal Daza and the others who were there, pretending that he did not understand what they wanted to do, he at once announced his commission as captain, and when they found that his powers were so restricted, they thought that it showed great simplicity to have come such a distance with such limited powers. But though they spoke in this way behind his back, they were respectful when he was present, for they began to think that it was not credible that he could have come merely as a captain. His servants and friends declared and even swore that they did not know of his bringing any commission but what they had seen, so they began to believe what they desired. What made them more certain that Aldana did not bring sufficient powers was that he did not interfere with orders or other arrangements. He also announced his appointment as judicial commissioner, and, notwithstanding their doubts and the thoughts they entertained, they all obeyed him and complied with his orders.

CHAPTER LXXIV

How the captain LORENZO DE ALDANA sent the people to Quito, and of other things that he did.

As soon as he found that the people would obey him, Aldana wrote to the municipal authorities at Quito, desiring them not to allow the Spaniards who were there to leave the city because this was necessary for His Majesty's service. Then he sent the men from the province of Cañarís by tens and tens, and twenties and twenties. This was done to avoid any mutiny which might arise if a large force were sent and showed any intention of joining Belalcázar. When Sandoval saw that his wish to send men to Popayán would not take effect, as he was a man of little judgment and a loose talker he caused the soldiers who had come from Quito to be assembled, and then said to them, "Up to this time we do not know that the captain Lorenzo de Aldana is anything more than judge, while we know that Belalcázar is General of all this province and that he is able to give *repartimientos* and confer other favours, which Aldana cannot do. Therefore it will be best for you to go beyond Quito to where Belalcázar is stationed." With these discourses Sandoval tried to make the men do what he wanted, and he told the caciques of that province that they should give bad supplies to the men whom Aldana was sending. As Sandoval attended to nothing but this scheme, it came to the notice of Aldana, who decided to wait and see whether Sandoval would cease from plotting. When he saw that his forbearance bore no fruit, and that Sandoval continued his intrigues, Aldana was on the point of ordering him to be hanged, and he would have given the order, if he had not seen that it would be bad policy to begin by executions. So he inflicted no punishment, but deprived him of his jurisdiction over the caciques and Indians, most of whom had been assigned to him. The natives were told that they must serve the King, whose vassals they were, without believing what Sandoval said, nor doing anything else than paying him his tribute, and if they did anything else he (Aldana) would punish them. As the Indians are sharp enough, they obeyed Aldana's orders and Sandoval was not so important with them as he used to be.

Having sent all the men forward, Aldana set out for the city of Quito, taking Sandoval with him. On his arrival there he found Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda acting as lieutenant for the Governor, Lorenzo de Aldana having sent him in advance from Tumbez to supersede Diego de Torres. After Aldana's arrival at Quito,

Sandoval did not cease his intrigues to induce the soldiers to go on to Popayán. When he found that they did not pay much attention to him, he spoke to Diego de Torres, and to other citizens and friends who were for Belalcázar, to induce them to take a hand in effecting what he desired. Lorenzo de Aldana was well informed respecting all that was going on. He sent for the captain Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda, and told him that he saw how mutinous and haughty Sandoval had become, though his person and authority were worthless, nor had he such valour as would induce men to follow him; so, by deceit and cunning, he was trying to induce others to carry out his schemes. As Pineda was so loyal to the Governor Pizarro, Aldana desired him to arrest both Sandoval and Cristóbal Daza because he did not wish, as yet, to appear personally in these transactions. Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda said that he would do as was desired, and at once ordered the chief alguacil to arrest them both without more ado, to put them in hammocks, and send them to Lima, to the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro.

Lorenzo de Aldana again exhibited the decree appointing him judicial commissioner. The citizens of Quito said to one another, how was it possible that a gentleman like Aldana should come with insufficient powers, and with only the appointment as judicial commissioner? and that he ought to disclose to them all the powers he brought from the Governor.

They did not stop at this but went about surmising why he did not bring other powers, for if he brought them he would use them on account of his friends, and would not refuse the office of command, which all mortals desire so keenly.

After a stay of twenty days at Quito, captain Lorenzo de Aldana set out for the city of Popayán, a distance of eighty leagues.

CHAPTER LXXV

How captain LORENZO DE ALDANA left the City of Quito to go to the City of Popayán.

SOME people still carried on discussions in Quito saying that it was Sebastian de Belalcázar who had all the power in the provinces, that Lorenzo de Aldana carried none with him, for if he had brought any from the Marquis he would have shown them.

In order to stop these discussions Aldana made a show of intending to hang two men who had tattled most actively, and afterwards, when some prominent persons interceded, he released them, as he

only wanted to instil some fear with a view to stopping such murmurings. He made a show of inflicting severe punishments, but it always ended in clemency and moderation, insomuch that men sometimes looked upon him as remiss.

Leaving Quito in as good order as was possible, Aldana departed; Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda remaining as lieutenant for the Governor. He took only forty Spaniards with him and arrived in the province of Pasto which was in insurrection, all the principal caciques being in arms, but he restored peace. He was two months on the road from Pasto to Popayán, travelling slowly because he restored peace in every pueblo of the Pastos. At that time there was great distress in Popayán, both among Spaniards and Indians, as they had to go thirty or forty leagues to bring maize. The natives would not cultivate the land or sow seeds, hoping that, when food failed, the Spaniards would depart and leave them to live in freedom. When the crops failed, the Spaniards suffered so much from hunger that there was nothing that could be eaten, however nasty, that did not seem very good to them. Many days passed when they had nothing to eat but wild herbs, lizards, snakes, and locusts, all so unwholesome that they caused swellings and much sickness. All over the province there was such a famine that the natives began to eat each other. Yet, in spite of these sufferings they would not sow the fields. The caciques killed the natives and cooked them in large pots, and along the roads there were great bands of Indians killing each other. No feeling of piety made them refrain from such acts. Some Spaniards who were travelling, and saw such great cruelties, asked them why they were so wicked, when if they would cultivate and sow their lands they would have food. They would not give in and replied that they wished to be left alone, for that they thought it as well to eat each other, and be buried in their own bellies. The Christians, dismayed at the cruelties of the natives, censured the caciques, and warned them that it must be put an end to, or God would punish them severely, but this did not stop them, and they answered that the Indians were theirs and they would not stop them because of what the Spaniards had said.

After the famine there came a pestilence in their houses and many fell dead, the living giving sepulture to the dead in their stomachs. The malignant devil, glad to see so many dead, and that all their souls would come into his power, appeared before them in all his hideousness.

Hernan Sánchez Morillo, who was a settler at Popayán, and was present at the time, told me that one day when he was walking along a road, he met an Indian with nine hands, two which God

gave him, and seven others tied to a string. Morillo asked him why he carried so many hands, and he answered, "To eat them." Ten or twelve boys, the eldest not yet ten, were in a maize field, when twenty Indians came upon them, cut them to pieces and devoured them.

Many other great cruelties were perpetrated in that province, for more than fifty thousand persons ate each other, while pestilence and famine finished another hundred thousand, for it was the most thickly peopled part of the country. The efforts of Francisco García de Tobar, captain, and lieutenant for the Governor, did not avail or suffice to prevent such evils, for it was a punishment which God inflicted on those obstinate Indians, whose numbers were to be so much reduced for their sins.

Nothing was yet known in the city of the coming of Lorenzo de Aldana, but when he was two leagues from Popayán, he sent Francisco Hernández and Pedro de Avalos to the city to inform the people and the municipality of his approach. When it was known in Popayán, great was the satisfaction with which they received the news. They went out at once to meet him and he embraced and consoled them, regretting much that he should find them so emaciated. After entering the city he presented his appointment as judicial commissioner, but reflected that if he announced his full powers the captain Belalcázar would hear of it, which might give rise to some scandals and tumults, which would be an ill-service to God our Lord and to His Majesty. What he felt most, as a Catholic Christian, was the great cruelty of the natives to each other and the number that had been eaten. In order to restore some order, and to reform the survivors, he thought of assuming the office of Lieutenant-general. However, he gave up the idea as not discreet until he had some news of Belalcázar. The magistrates and citizens of Popayán, seeing that Aldana showed them no powers but those of a judicial commissioner, said one to another that they were astonished that a person of substance and gravity should come to a country so far from the Governor's headquarters with such limited powers, and they could not help thinking that he brought more than he had shown them. On other occasions they said that they could not understand how Lorenzo de Aldana should come in such a way, to such remote provinces. Why they came to the conclusion that he had fuller powers was from seeing that he always appeared to assert his position when speaking to the Indians, and this he never disguised. After he had been thirteen or fourteen days in Popayán, Aldana set out for the city of Calí.

CHAPTER LXXX

How the captain LORENZO DE ALDANA departed from the city of Popayán and went to Calí, and how the Governor of Cartagena, JUAN DE VADILLO, arrived at the city of Calí.

LORENZO DE ALDANA was very anxious to receive news of Belalcázar, because, until he had that captain in his hands, he did not wish to use the full powers which the Governor had given him. Yet, if Belalcázar stayed much longer, the country would be ruined, while he would have to give an account to God of the evils which might have been avoided if he had had full charge of those provinces. Although these considerations kept him anxious and distressed, there was nothing to be done at that time. So, accompanied by his servants and some of his friends, Aldana set out for the city of Calí, and on the road they met Jorge Robledo who was on his way to Popayán. Robledo returned to Calí with Aldana, who was welcomed there, and he announced his commission as Judge. Considering the great famine which still prevailed at Popayán, he ordered that a great quantity of maize should be taken there from Calí, by the natives of the provinces, which were subject to Popayán. He ordered Indians to come, who were to carry it to the river which is eight leagues from Calí, and twelve from Popayán. Francisco Hernández was ordered to be at the river to see that the maize was distributed. Those of Popayán looked upon Aldana as a great benefactor, and said that they appreciated his worth in promptly ordering the city to be provisioned, and prevent its being deserted when the pressure from famine was so great. With great joy they came to the *balsa*¹ for the maize, saying that Aldana was a true father of the people. Francisco Hernández always had Indian women on the *balsas* to make bread for those who came from Popayán for the maize. In this way the city of Popayán was saved from being depopulated. The Indians of the provinces, seeing these arrangements, were much disturbed, for it seemed to them that furnished with these supplies the Spaniards would never depart, so they determined to sow the fields, that they might not all die of hunger.

After the captain Lorenzo de Aldana had been at Calí for some days, he decided to return to Popayán that his presence might ensure better order, and certainly the Indians were well pleased to serve him, and the Spaniards got their fields sown by the natives. Having devoted some days to regulating affairs at Popayán, but

¹ At the river crossing?

without having announced the full powers which the Marquis had given him, he went back to Calí. The narrative of what happened on the arrival of the licentiate Juan de Vadillo at Calí is outside the scope of events in Peru; yet I will insert it here, for I was myself on that expedition, and came from Cartagena with Vadillo.

At the time when Don Pedro de Heredia was Governor of Cartagena, he sent a bold, able, and valorous captain, named Francisco César, on an expedition. For ten months he travelled through a difficult country consisting of dense forest, he and his men suffering great hardships. Their horses were without shoes, and themselves so worn out that they only retained the form of men, when at length they reached a very lofty range of mountains called Abibe which they crossed and arrived in the valley of Goaca, where they fought a desperate battle with the Indians. The Spaniards numbered sixty-three and the natives more than twenty thousand, yet the Spaniards were victorious and their enemies fled. It is true that the natives declare that it was a celestial vision which made them take to flight. The Spaniards found there a temple of the devil, and they took thirty thousand *pesos* from a tomb, and heard that in the valley there were many more burial places like the one they had found. But as Francisco César had so few Spaniards with him, and the horses were unshod and of no use, he resolved to go back. It pleased God that by the route that had taken them nine or ten months in pursuing, they should return in seventeen days. They came out at the city of San Sebastian, the port of Urabá, whence the news soon reached Cartagena.

The licentiate Vadillo heard the news with great joy, for at that time Don Pedro de Heredia was in prison, and Vadillo had taken his *residencia* with greater severity than was fitting in the case of a Governor who had done such good service. After some days the licentiate Vadillo determined to make a complete exploration of those provinces. He did this although news had come, through one Francisco de Ávila, a citizen of Santo Domingo in the island of Española, who wrote to him that His Majesty was sending out the licentiate Santa Cruz to take his place. As Vadillo knew himself to be culpable in the treatment of Heredia, he determined to take command of the expedition himself, though at first he had intended to entrust it to César. At that time there were many of us youths in Cartagena who desired to serve in some expedition which would be profitable, and as Vadillo declared that he would take command himself we all wished to follow him. He got together the most distinguished and knightly following that had ever set out from Tierra Firme, and conveyed them and their horses in ships from Cartagena to the port of Urabá, where we

remained for some days. The Spaniards numbered three hundred and forty-five, with five hundred and twelve horses¹, many negroes, men and women, and Indian slaves of both sexes, with other equipment costing more than one hundred thousand *pesos*.

The expedition left Urabá in the month of February in the year 1537. Vadillo took Francisco César as his lieutenant, the Treasurer Alonso de Sayavedra as captain of infantry, Juan de Vittoria as quartermaster, and as ensign Alonso de Montemayor.

And as this expedition may reach beyond the limits of Peru, and I find myself so tired and weary with studying the affairs of our own region, I do not feel compelled to follow up the materials of any side issue. For we it is who have been the first to open a way from the [Atlantic] Ocean to the South Sea. But in order that it may be known what a many Spaniards entered Peru together from Cartagena, I write what seems appropriate to the occasion.

The principal men of the expedition were the lieutenant Francisco César, Juan de Vittoria, and Don Antonio de Ribera of Soria; also the commendador Hernan Rodríguez de Sousa, a native of Estremoz in Portugal, the ensign Montemayor of Herranúñez, the treasurer Alonso de Sayavedra of Tordesillas, Alvaro de Mendoza of San Benito, Lorenzo Estopiñán de Figueroa of Jerez de la Frontera, Melchor de Suerdenaba of Toro, Martin Yañez Tafor of Cordova, Arias Maldonado of Salamanca, Antonio Pimentel of Mayorca, Alonso de Villacreces of Sevilla, Baltasar de Ledesma of Salamanca, and many other gentlemen and hidalgos.

With these went forward Vadillo, making discoveries for a year and more, suffering many hardships and enduring famine, inso-much that ninety-two Spaniards and one hundred and nineteen horses died. Indeed such was the famine that it was expected that all would perish. But at last, having passed through these sufferings, we arrived at the city of Calí, and if Vadillo had not intended to go back by sea, we might well have fallen upon the riches of Bogotá, with which all of us who went with him would have been recompensed.

When Vadillo heard that Lorenzo de Aldana was in Calí, he was much worried. To those who said that Aldana had no authority, he replied, "Believe me that if a gentleman such as Lorenzo de Aldana came from Lima to this land, he is not without sufficient powers, or I am much mistaken." When the licentiate Vadillo arrived at Calí, Lorenzo de Aldana gave orders to the lieutenant Miguel Muñoz that the people from Cartagena should be lodged in the city and supplied with provisions, as they arrived worn out

¹ *Quinientos y doce caballos*, in the text.

with fatigue. The mind of Aldana was in no way disturbed at there being three hundred Spaniards, or slightly less, in the city, with so many and such good horses that they were fit to undertake any enterprise. However, he preferred that they should all regard him as Lorenzo de Aldana, without any office, and not as the General and chief captain next the Governor of all those cities. This he did to see whether, by chance, Belalcázar would reveal where he had gone to¹.

CHAPTER LXXXI

Of other things that happened in Calí; and how VADILLO left it to go to the coast of Peru. How LORENZO DE ALDANA returned to Popayán, and sent to discover a road to the valley of Timaná: also how FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ was sent with letters to the Governor FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

BEFORE the licentiate Juan de Vadillo entered the city of Calí, and while in a village eight leagues distant, called Meacanoa, a bundle of gold worth two thousand six hundred *pesos* which belonged to the company and was to be divided among all those who had come was stolen out of his tent. Some believed that Vadillo himself had hidden it, and spread the report that it was stolen, which was false, for it was certainly stolen from his tent. When the gold did not appear and Vadillo heard that he was suspected, he was much distressed, and he asserted that one Baltasar de Ledesma was the thief. This was a troublesome man, gifted with excellent abilities and addicted to very ugly vices. He had taken it and still had it, and this afterwards was found to be the truth. Ledesma was arrested and tortured until he produced the gold, which was divided among those who remained in Calí. My share was five and a half *pesos*. Such was the reward for discoveries so laboriously made.

When some time had passed it occurred to the licentiate Vadillo that he had set out from Cartagena with a very powerful force, and with very valorous Spaniards, but as yet he had founded no settlement as was the custom with other Spanish captains; so he desired to send one of his captains to undertake the settlement of the province of Burutica; and the matter was publicly discussed among the Spaniards. Aldana got word of these projects, while

¹ Responderia de donde habia entrado.

he was in his house; and he disapproved, because Vadillo after having left those provinces in a disturbed condition now wanted to send some people to make a settlement, a thing which they did not know how to do and which was to be deprecated. He resolved that nothing of the sort should be done, and that no one should leave the city without his consent and command. So one day, after dinner, being in a reception room of the house of Miguel Muñoz, Lorenzo de Aldana addressed a speech to Vadillo, in the presence of many others. He told him that he was surprised that he, the licentiate, being aware of the good order that prevailed in Peru, as well towards pacifying natives as in the settlement of cities, should wish to send some of his people to reduce new provinces, when he had left those behind him disturbed and at war, and devastated by fire, and had destroyed all he had passed through. Since leaving Cartagena with his army, he had been a year on the march, had traversed over two hundred leagues of inhabited country, without having shown, as they all knew, any wish to form settlements, or even to pass the winter there, so as to ascertain what there was on either side of the road. Gonzalo Sánchez had suggested to him that he should settle Burutica, a rich land with many and great mines, but he had laughed at the proposal, preferring to put forward excuses which would not be accepted. He, and all those who had come from Cartagena must understand that they were now beyond the limits of that government and within those of the government of Don Francisco Pizarro. So that if Vadillo wished to return with his people, he should have assistance and help; if not, he was not to talk of sending a captain with troops to form a settlement, for he, Aldana, would not consent to it. Having said this he went into another room. The licentiate Vadillo answered that he was a King's Judge and Governor, that neither he nor his people had destroyed any province, while those of Peru could not deny, that between Quito and Anzerma they had desolated and laid waste wide regions. He only wished to go to the coast of the South Sea to make a report to His Majesty. If he wanted to return in any other way, Lorenzo de Aldana had no right to hinder him in what he wished to do. Lorenzo de Aldana intended to arrest one Juan González and another. Vadillo went to the lodging of Pedro de Ayala.

CHAPTER LXXXII

How, when SEBASTIAN DE BELALCÁZAR arrived in the valley of Neyva, he sent PEDRO DE AÑASCO to settle the province of Timaná, and what else he did.

THE captain Belalcázar arrived in the valley of Neyva, his principal object being to continue his journey to the Ocean Sea¹. He there determined to send an expedition to settle the provinces of Timaná and of the Yalcones, which he himself had discovered, and gave the command to Pedro de Añasco, a prominent gentleman from the city of Sevilla. With the necessary powers, and a body of men under his command, Pedro de Añasco set forth to carry out his instructions. As soon as he was gone, Belalcázar continued his journey down the valley towards the South and encountered warlike Indians who were expert in shooting arrows which were tipped with a poisonous herb like that used by the Indians of Urabá. The pueblos of these Indians are above the valley, on the spurs of the great cordillera of the Andes. When they heard of the approach of the Spaniards they prepared for war. The Spaniards marching carelessly were attacked with these poisoned arrows, and twenty were wounded. It was sad to hear of the way these unfortunates were killed, and of the suffering with which their souls left their worn-out bodies. It must not be thought that the wounds were very great, but with the poison on the arrows it was only necessary to make a prick and bring out a drop of blood, when quickly the poison reached the heart and the victim, overcome by great nausea, biting his own hands, and abhorring life, longed to die. So fierce was the flame of that poison that it consumed the entrails, the vital spirit fled and the victims seemed to be distraught, crying out like madmen; next there was a terrible spasm and they expired.

The captain Belalcázar and the other Spaniards were astounded to behold the sudden deaths of their companions. Of twenty who were wounded only one escaped death. The survivor's name was Diego López, and the reason he did not die was that he and his companion named Trujillo were standing in a river when he was wounded in the calf of the leg, and before the poison could penetrate he cut the flesh sharply with the hook with which he was fishing. Then taking out a knife, he gave it to his companion, and told him to cut away, without mercy, all the flesh round the place where he was wounded, and not to delay, because he was beginning to have the same symptoms as those had who died of their

¹ Atlantic, i.e. Caribbean Sea.

wounds. His companion promptly cut away the flesh before the poison had time to enter the system. In that way this Spaniard saved his life, but lost the calf to his leg. When the captain Sebastian de Belalcázar saw how many Spaniards had been killed, he resolved to retreat to the valley of Neyva and march until he reached the great river called Santa Marta, for a branch of that river rises in that region, and another in the mountains of the Coconucos near Popayán. From one branch to the other the distance is little more than forty leagues, and they continue apart down to near the city of Mompox in the government of Cartagena, where they unite and the river becomes as great as when it empties itself into the Ocean Sea. Between these rivers there are very rich provinces to be explored, and I have myself set out three or four times with captains who undertook to explore them. But I do not want to make digressions nor to write of other things than what passed in the region from the port of Urabá to the town of Plata. As in my *Book of Foundations* I have described the source of this river, its great volume and riches, and all about it from its source to its entrance into the sea, I will say no more on the subject.

At this time parties came from Santa Marta and from Venezuela bent on discoveries. To make my story clear, and to tell how the captain Belalcázar went to Spain, it will be necessary to make some digressions, which I will do as briefly as I can. The reader must understand that the government of Santa Marta is between Venezuela and Cartagena. The Governors of Santa Marta were Palomino, García de Lerma, and others. After the Doctor Infanta had been there as Judge, His Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos, our Lord, appointed the Adelantado Don Pedro de Lugo as his Governor and Captain-General of Santa Marta. Lugo departed from Tenerife, accompanied by gentlemen and persons of distinction, and arrived at Santa Marta, whence his son Don Alonso de Lugo, and other captains began to make incursions. From want of experience they did not settle in the mountains, which would have been a great thing if they had done it. Many of those who came from Spain died. A few days after Don Alonso left Santa Marta the old Adelantado died; but before his death he had sent a fleet of launches up the river, under the command of the licentiate Jiménez, a native of Granada. After passing through great difficulties and hardships, Jiménez arrived at one of the richest and most prolific regions that have been discovered in this new empire of the Indies, inhabited by powerful lords. If the Spaniards had been skilful in the conquest and had gained a knowledge of the Indians, they would have become masters of great wealth, for

in all the pueblos of this region there were sumptuous temples full of riches, gold as well as emeralds, all dedicated as offerings to the Devil, of whom there were many images which were worshipped.

The Spaniards, when they invaded this province, did not show much cunning in collecting the gold, so that they lost the greater part, which was concealed by the Indians. Still, they found five hundred thousand *pesos*, and, including what was in the sanctuaries, it came to one million five hundred thousand *pesos* or more. There is a large lake in this province of Bogotá in which, if His Majesty ordered it to be drained, there would be found a quantity of gold and emeralds, which the Indians in times past have thrown into it. The Spaniards of Santa Marta were the first explorers of these provinces of Bogotá. There came there next a Governor of Venezuela, a German named Fedreman, who had left his province more than a year before, to discover new lands and provinces. After enduring great hardships he arrived with his party at Bogotá. I have no cause to relate what passed between the two captains, as it is outside my subject.

While they were at loggerheads, Belalcázar, travelling by the valley of Neyva, received news from the natives of the presence of Spaniards, and how a captain with several of them was coming in his direction. This was the captain Hernan Pérez de Quesada, brother of the General Jiménez, who had already been appointed a licentiate, and had set out to explore the land in that part.

When they received tidings of each other, they made haste to meet, and were exceedingly pleased at meeting, but the Spaniards of Peru were put out with themselves because their leaders had not marched quickly enough, so as to be the first to reach the wealth of Bogotá.

After Hernan Pérez and Belalcázar had informed each other what had been done, they proceeded to Bogotá; Hernan Pérez de Quesada going ahead to announce the arrival of Belalcázar to his brother the licentiate. All in Bogotá rejoiced at the arrival of Belalcázar, for he had the reputation of a great captain.

Arriving at the banks of the Rio Grande captain Belalcázar and his people crossed it in large jars, which served as *balas* and thence marched to Bogotá. Here there were discussions between the three captains over which of them should remain as lord of the land. Belalcázar desired to set out for the North Sea, and the licentiate Jiménez had the same intention. So it was agreed that they and Fedreman should all go together to Spain, to give an account of what they had discovered. He who received a grant of the province would become the Governor, in the meantime the

administration would remain with those who came from Santa Marta, as they were the first discoverers. Then they sent work-people to the pueblo of Tocayma to build launches.

As Belalcázar was not provided with money, he sold all the equipment he had, and to get more, he did a very ugly thing, which was to sell, for gold and emeralds, the free Indian women who had served him for a long time.

The licentiate Jiménez left his brother, the captain Hernan Pérez de Quesada, as his lieutenant, and he gave *repartimientos* to many of the Spaniards who had come with Belalcázar and Fedreman.

To the province of Bogotá he gave the name of "the New Kingdom of Granada," because he himself, who had discovered it, came from the City of Granada. The cities of Tunjar, Santa Fé, Vélez and others had been founded.

This country is well supplied with provisions, and there are more deer here than there are anywhere else in the world. The Royal Audiencia of the new kingdom was founded by order of the King our Lord in this year 1550.

As Belalcázar was anxious to depart, he appointed the captain Juan de Ampudia to be his lieutenant in Popayán and commissioned Juan Cabrera to found a settlement in the valley of Neyva. He made these appointments on his own authority, for he had no power to do so either from the King or from the Governor Pizarro.

After the launches were built the party set out down the great river [of Santa Magdalena] and made for Cartagena, whence they [the three leaders] proceeded to Spain; while Pedro de Puelles returned to Peru to report to the Governor Pizarro, as Belalcázar had made him come in the launches.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

How LORENZO DE ALDANA returned to Popayán and sent FRANCISCO GARCÍA DE TOBAR to explore; and how, on receiving news of the proceedings of BELALCÁZAR, he presented his commissions and was received as Governor.

AFTER what I have already related as having passed between the captain Lorenzo de Aldana and the bachelor Vadillo, the latter, with some of the Spaniards who came with him from Cartagena, set out for Popayán. Aldana sent Francisco Hernández to Lima, to present a report of what had happened, and wrote a full account

to the Governor of the arrival from Cartagena of the licentiate Juan de Vadillo. He said that he did not even yet know what Belalcázar had done, but believed that he had gone to the North Sea. If Belalcázar did not answer soon, seeing the necessity felt in the cities for regular government, he intended to use the powers which the Governor had given him. Francisco Hernández went to do as we have stated, and to watch that the Spaniards with Vadillo did no mischief.

As soon as they had started for Popayán, Lorenzo de Aldana told the captain Francisco García de Tobar to take some Spaniards, cross the mountains of the Coconucos or *cordillera* of the Andes, and learn from the Indians whether they had any news of the captain Belalcázar.

Francisco García de Tobar was very diligent and much feared by the Indians, although he was destined to die by their hands. He took some Spaniards and crossed the mountains by the pass which is now used to go to Timaná. Aldana was much worried at not getting any news of Belalcázar, and finally decided to wait for a month, and if no news came during that time, to proclaim his commissions. We have already stated how Pedro de Añasco had set out to found the town of Timaná [by order of Belalcázar] and he travelled on with his company until he found a satisfactory site, and there formed the new settlement.

Juan de Ampudía, with some companions, went to Bogotá, and travelling thence to Popayán brought news of the departure of Belalcázar in the launches, and of everything else that had happened. When Lorenzo de Aldana knew this, he proclaimed to the municipality the commissions he had received from the Governor, by virtue of which he was received as Lieutenant-general of the cities of Quito, Popayán, and Calí. This reception of Aldana had a great effect; for the minds of the Spaniards were settled, and there was no movement caused by the arrival of Ampudía. Certainly if Aldana had not been on the spot there would have been trouble, because the citizens of Calí were on bad terms with Miguel Muñoz and conspired to disobey him when they heard of the departure of Belalcázar. There were other troubles too, as I know, for I was in Calí at that time. As soon as the commissions were proclaimed in Popayán, they were sent to the city of Calí by the hand of Cristóbal de Funes, and were received by the municipal officers as the Governor had ordered. The Spaniards who had come from Cartagena scattered in all directions, and the settlers in the city compelled the natives to serve, and pay the tribute which it was their obligation to render. Things were thus making a fair start.

The General Lorenzo de Aldana arranged everything in the city of Popayán in the best way he could, and had long discussions with the Indians, warning them not to be so mad as to rise and make war against the Spaniards, for there could be no result but their destruction, and it would be a sad mistake; for with peace their lives would be preserved. He urged them to cultivate and sow their fields, and told them that if any Spaniards should harass or illtreat them, he would punish them. Aldana also advised them to abandon their rites and ceremonies as useless and deceiving, and to become Christians. These and other things he said to all the natives and their caciques who were assembled, and they were satisfied to become peaceful. Then Aldana set out for the city of Calí where he desired to promote the reformation of the natives. They seemed to him to be too much divided up, so that the Spaniards suffered want while the natives were overworked, so he made a new *repartimiento* in favour of those Spaniards who appeared most deserving, and sent the rest to settle in the province of Anzerma which had been discovered by Belalcázar.

At this time Pedro de Añasco received news in Timaná of the position in Popayán under Lorenzo de Aldana, and decided to come and confer with him, sending Melchor Hernández before him to enlist men. Then he set out himself and came to Calí. Aldana received him very well, and appointed him lieutenant of the town of Timaná, to which place he returned.

One Cristóbal Orejón, a native of Mérida, for certain heresy he had spoken concerning our blessed Lady, had remained without punishment. The General, wishing the land to be clear of all evil, arrested him and sent him prisoner to Lima, where he received publicly a hundred lashes with a gag on his tongue. Later on he was killed by the Indians, for he asked for a pueblo where there was a convent of our Lady of Mercy belonging to the town of Anzerma, and becoming involved with the chieftainess of those Indians the husband and others intervened and killed him. This was well done and he got his deserts; for he wished to have the Indians in the service of the Mother of God for himself. Lorenzo de Aldana would not give them, but Belalcázar did so when he afterwards came as Governor.

The affairs of Calí being in good order, and the Indians serving very well, after Miguel Martínez had come from . . .¹ where he had been, Lorenzo de Aldana, in order to get rid of men who were idling in Calí, wished to send them to people the province of Anzerma. Looking out for a good man to lead them his eye fell on Jorge Robledo, for he knew of no one else with such good

¹ Blank in the original MS.

qualifications nor who would carry out his instructions so well. Aldana sent for him, announced his wishes, and desired him to go as captain of the men who were to settle the province of Anzerma which the captain Belalcázar had discovered. The city was to be called "Santa Ana de los Cavalleros." He was to nominate the magistrate and municipal officers, in the same way as had been done at Calí. Robledo replied that he would do as he was ordered, and strive to perform the service in such a way as that His Majesty would be well satisfied.

To Pedro de Añasco Aldana issued a commission as lieutenant for the Governor at the town of Timaná, which remained peopled. Of the men who came from Cartagena the captains formed parties for their expeditions.

APPENDIX B

(Chapters LXXII, LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII)

RELATING TO THE

EXPEDITION LED BY PERANZURES INTO THE
MONTAÑA OR FORESTS TO THE EASTWARD
OF THE ANDES

CHAPTER LXXII

How HERNANDO PIZARRO appointed PERANZURES as Captain, and turned over to him all PEDRO DE CANDIA'S men, and how he set out on an expedition to the Chunchos.

CAPTAIN PERANZURES was glad to receive the appointment from Hernando Pizarro to lead an expedition to explore the country on the other side of the *cordillera* of the Andes.

There was a report that it was thickly peopled and that much gold and silver would be found, so that all concerned would be able to return to Spain well off. Many gentlemen and leading persons approved the choice made by Hernando Pizarro and volunteered for the expedition, as well as the captains who were with Pedro de Candía. After taking leave of Hernando Pizarro Captain Peranzures went on ahead, leaving instructions for the others to follow, and he marched until he reached the valley of Caravaya, where he remained for two months, organising his forces and collecting supplies.

In the end of September, 1538, Peranzures set out to explore a province called Sama, leaving his quartermaster, Juan Quijada, at Caravaya with part of his force which was not well provided. Peranzures went on until he came to Ayaviri, and, as it seemed to him that he had collected sufficient supplies, he sent for Quijada to join him.

There was great difficulty in bringing the horses to the place where Peranzures was encamped. Some fell down precipices, and the rest only arrived after many narrow escapes.

When all were assembled Peranzures gave the order to start, all the country in front of them being forests and rugged mountains.

If a level space was met with it was always covered with dense woodland. After a detention of a few days, they set out in search of another province called Tacana. Proceeding further with very great labour they came to a forest-covered plain, where the Spaniards, expecting to find a fertile and abundant country, did not check their march although they were dismayed at the density of the forest, where they could only move by using hatchets and

machetes to open a road. They came to great rivers and swamps, and had to make bridges of felled trees, to enable the horses to get across. The Spaniards numbered three hundred, and there were over eight thousand Indian men and women and negroes. Many of these camp followers were left dead in the forest and among the great rocks.

The Spaniards began to feel the hardships, and many regretted having again joined an expedition of discovery.

It is my experience that when men are engaged in a difficult exploration, they declare and swear that they would sooner die than join in another such expedition, yet, if they come out alive, they always want to go again. Those who regretted having gone with Candia volunteered to go again with Peranzures, declared the same thing with him, yet went again with Diego de Rojas, and so they went on until they died or found food.

Peranzures encouraged them, telling them that they would soon be clear of their difficulties, and arrive at a place which would content them; but his exhortations were not cures for the afflicted. At length they came to a very great river rising in the eastern parts¹ and flowing towards the Ocean Sea.

When Peranzures and the Spaniards observed the great size of the river, and that it was necessary to cross it at once, they went to work to construct many *balsas*. On the further bank of this river there were some armed Indians, natives of the soil, who, seeing the arrival of the Spaniards, collected together by the river side and set up loud shouts. When the Spaniards saw that there were Indians, they made twelve *balsas* into a sort of fleet. Captain Peranzures himself (who was a man of great valour, as he proved himself when he was killed by the French not very far from the Yaguana), accompanied by thirty of the smartest and most active of the Spaniards, crossed over on the *balsas* in advance of the rest of the force.

When the natives saw the Spaniards coming to attack them they shot off many arrows at them, shouting loudly that they would kill them all. The Spaniards warded off the arrows with their shields, but they were so numerous that several men were wounded and one named Hernando Gallego was killed, surviving the wound only a day and a half, for it appears that the point of the arrow must have been anointed with some poisonous herb.

Peranzures saw the mischief the Indians were doing, but, in spite of it, he crossed to the other bank, much assisted by Juan Alonso Palomino and others as determined as himself; and the

¹ The eastern side of the Andes.

Indians, not daring to oppose the Spaniards any longer, took to flight.

Captain Peranzures and his thirty men encamped on the far side and during the next eight days all his followers got across, leaving nothing behind. There was a great scarcity of food, for, although there were a few Indians in the neighbourhood, they had so little of their own that it was of no service, and up to this time the members of the expedition had lived on provisions brought from Peru. Impressed with the necessity of finding provisions, Captain Peranzures left the camp in charge of the captains and set out with thirty horsemen to see if he could find a way out of the forest and reach an inhabited part where food could be procured. The guides whom he had brought said that four days' journey would take him out of the forest, but, with all possible speed, it took them six days.

They then came to a flat open country with no hill in sight.

CHAPTER LXXVI

How Captain PERANZURES and his followers endured great hardships and distress, and how when he came to the open country the Indians told him of great things beyond.

THERE were some streams and some groves of trees, but not many. As they had been six days on the road they arrived very hungry, but seeing themselves clear of the forests, they rejoiced, thinking that they would find an inhabited country, whither they could remove the whole camp and provision themselves; and could then start again for the great place they had been told about. But they did not find what they hoped, only a few *yuca* plantations with the roots pulled up and hidden. For the natives, as soon as they knew the Spaniards were coming, made off, after pulling up the roots and concealing them. But as hunger is a terrible thing to suffer, those exposed to it seek every means of alleviation, so Peranzures and his men searched until they found the roots, and then appeased their hunger with them as if they had been the most delicious dishes. Close by they discovered a small village so ruined that it could barely be recognized as having once been human habitations, and they found nothing in it.

Captain Peranzures was very sad at finding that, although he had reached a level country clear of forests, there were neither inhabitants nor provisions to enable him to proceed. Calling Juan Alonso Palomino, he ordered him to explore further with twelve

horsemen. Palomino obeyed, and started with eleven horsemen and rode over twelve leagues, but only saw some small pueblos and found no provisions. He captured some Indians and learnt from them that there were no inhabitants except at a great distance. Palomino returned to Captain Peranzures who, meanwhile, had heard wonders of the country farther on, from some Indians. They all said that the country was level with no forests to obstruct the march, that at twenty-five days' journey distant there was a river of great volume starting from where the sun rises and flowing west, so wide that one bank could not be seen from the other and containing large inhabited islands; in fine that at the end of the twenty-five days' journey there were wide regions peopled by many nations of Indians having different languages, that there were immense numbers of sheep and deer and other supplies of all sorts, and delicious fruits; that most of the tribes were clothed, that the women were very beautiful, and the men well formed. When the Spaniards heard all this, the desire to see it with their eyes was very strong, and they coveted possession most ardently. They thought over what should be done, whether to send for the rest of the camp to join them, or whether to return themselves to the camp. Finally it was considered that if the whole camp entered upon this long journey all might perish and never return to Peru, for though the Indians said the journey occupied twenty-five days, they might be telling lies, and it might be more than fifty. On the whole it was thought better to return to the camp, and there agree on what should be done, for they were in great want of provisions, and had seen nothing but a few burnt and ruined pueblos which the Indians said had been destroyed by the JURÍES who came to burn and ruin them.

So Captain Peranzures, Juan Alonso Palomino and their party returned to the camp. When those who had remained behind heard that nothing serviceable had been found they were disheartened. The captains and the quartermaster met to decide what should be done, and their anxiety about their dangerous position was very great, as the winter was coming on, and the rivers would be swollen; while they could not return by the way they came, nor seek for another way to reach the country described by the Indians. It was not thought advisable to move the camp to the flat country discovered by Peranzures, and it was finally decided, in order to save the lives of the Spaniards and camp followers, to attempt a return by the country of the MOXOS and COTABAMBA, so as to come out at CHUQUI-APU, and with this object they began their march up-stream along the river they had crossed. Notwithstanding that the necessity was great, the labour was greater, for the Spaniards

were never for a moment free from the use of axes and machetes, opening a road by the efforts of their weakening arms. The intrepidity and constancy shown by them, were equal to what Spaniards have displayed on other occasions, and they endured these hardships with great patience.

I cannot but believe that, in times to come, the Spaniards who discovered this empire will be held in high esteem, and their names will be more famous then than in our own time; for things that are fresh and recent we hold as such ordinary occurrences as hardly to be worth mentioning. The deeds which strike me most are not the battles with and subjection of the Indians, but the labours of discovery. This expedition to the Chunchos was the most lamentable and disastrous that has been undertaken in all the Indies, for it caused the loss of a third of the Spaniards, all dead from hunger.

CHAPTER LXXVII

How Captain PERANZURES and his force followed the river of the Chunchos up-stream, of the great hardships and the cruel hunger they endured, and what a many Indian men and women and some Spaniards died.

CAPTAIN PERANZURES and those with him had decided to march along the river of the CHUNCHOS towards its source so as to come out at CHUQUI-APU, where they might hear of another and shorter way of entering the land and one not so full of danger. They had no provisions, and could only sustain life by eating the inner part of some large palm trees, and a few wild herbs. Such sheets of rain poured down, that it seemed as if the heavens would fall. Their clothes rotted, and were made worse by attempts to mend them. In spite of all this they persevered, cutting their way with axes so that the horses might be able to pass. They also made roads over the swamps with the branches of trees. The Indians, who came as servants, could no longer maintain life, and many died on the road. Some bit pieces of flesh out of their comrades, and ate them. As hunger increased the living ate the dead. As yet none of the Spaniards had died, though they were so weak that they could hardly stand on their legs. For sixteen days they went on without meeting a single inhabitant. More than 3000 camp followers had died of hunger. It was very sad to see so many deaths, among them many daughters of principal lords of Cuzco,

and many *Pallas*¹. Having marched for these sixteen days, at last the Spaniards came to a pueblo where there was some food, but there was so little that their hunger was not stayed. Peranzures ordered some Spaniards to try and capture Indians to serve as guides, that they might more quickly get out of the forest. A few were caught, and it was found from them that by bearing to the left and travelling to the west, they would come out in the province of the Collao, and that there was no better or shorter way. When Peranzures and the other Spaniards heard this it seemed to them that it would be a great thing for them to escape quickly from the country they were in, for if they remained much longer there must be sad deaths for all. So they agreed to start, commending themselves to God our Lord, and praying that he would see fit to help and favour them, delivering them from the infernal land where they would perish. So they went on without carrying any food with them. The Indians said that there was a temple near, where the devil was worshipped, and that they would find some food near it. But they could make no progress, and the rain came down as if the deluge was returning, so that it looked as if they must all soon perish.

The noise made by the rain falling on that dense vegetation was such that they could not hear each other speaking. The sun was never seen; and the darkness was so sombre that truly the land appeared to be a place for the torment of devils rather than an abode for men. The camp followers died as they went. The captains ordered the horsemen to come as a rearguard, for most of the baggage had been abandoned. As their hunger increased they killed the horses for food, and they even ate their genitals, intestines and offal, without washing them, and consumed everything it was possible to swallow. They could not advance by the route indicated owing to the numerous swamps and rivers, and they were forced, against their wills, to turn back to the banks of the river they had left.

Juan Alonso Palomino, with seventeen Spaniards, remained at the little pueblo near the river bank, hoping to find an Indian to be their guide. Juan Alonso was a man well versed in war both with Christians and Indians. He knew that the natives would come back furtively, so he placed his men in ambush so that no one approaching could see them.

The camp was thus divided, Palomino was concealed but ready. After a short time they saw ten Indians, with fierce countenances, bodies painted, weapons in their hands, clothes girded up, approaching in *balsas*. Four or five of them on seeing some women of the

¹ Well-born Inca ladies.

camp followers, who were too tired to go on, came to the river bank, wishing to capture the women and take their clothes. While they were stripping them, Palomino and his men rushed out to seize one of them. It pleased God that one Antonio de Marchena, a native of Villagarcía de Campos, who was on horseback, chased one of the Indians and overtook him. As Marchena got off his horse the Indian resolutely closed with him. If this Indian had not been captured for a guide, they must all have perished. He was taken, and Palomino, rejoicing at having secured a guide, promptly started with his men and overtook Peranzures, and they learnt from the Indian in which direction they should go.

The captains then consulted together, and decided that they must build *balsas* to recross the river.

Fourteen were soon constructed, and fifty Spaniards, the strongest and most agile were selected. The day was the glorious Pascua de los Reyes¹, 1539, when the fifty men embarked, accompanied by Juan Alonso Palomino and the quartermaster Juan Quijada. The river was very broad, and there was a furious current, so that the Spaniards had hard work to reach the other bank. The barbarians, who were on the alert, having news that the Spaniards were crossing the river, placed themselves on the other side with their weapons, and shot off many arrows. Palomino and Quijada encouraged the Spaniards that they might not be dismayed at the flight of arrows, but ward them off with their shields, but the Indians never ceased shooting their arrows and darts. Palomino and Quijada ordered the *balsas* to be directed straight towards their assailants who, when they saw this, raised a great yell, and putting their arrows to their bows shot off such volleys at the Spaniards that eight were wounded, and three killed.

When the Spaniards saw that their companions were wounded, their anger was such that, poling with all their might, they reached the bank, though one *balsa* was carried down stream by the current. The natives, satisfied with the harm they had done, and lacking courage to face the Spaniards any longer, took to flight. The Spaniards who landed had been carried over a league and a half down stream. Their guide took them to a pueblo called SIETELINGA where they found a great quantity of *yuca*, *aji*, *batata* and other kinds of food, but the maize was unripe. Several *balsas* with Indians came out to kill those who were in the *balsa* that had been carried down by the current, and although three Spaniards in the *balsa* defended themselves resolutely, they were wounded; but in spite of this they succeeded in landing, and made their way back to Palomino and Quijada. When they were seen their comrades

¹ Epiphany.

rejoiced at their safety, and the more so on learning that they had seen a great clearing full of maize. Thence they presently sent three *balsas* laden with maize for the people who remained in the camp, who were getting very anxious about them. Great was their joy when they knew of the food that had been found. It enabled them to recover some of the spirit they had lost through fatigue and misery. Soon afterwards they crossed the river to the source of supply. They rested there for six weeks, living on the *yucas* and other roots, without salt or meat. All this was the result of capturing that Indian, for they must all have perished if this food had not been found. After they had rested for the time just stated, they set out again. This was a great mistake, for if they had wintered on that river, either on one bank or the other, a certain amount of food could have been procured and, with restored strength, they might have returned to the *Çabana* [open plain] and completed their discovery. But the captain who would make discoveries will seldom or never succeed if he lacks experience.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

How Captain PERANZURES set out (again) with his followers, of the great hardships they endured, how more than one hundred and twenty Spaniards died of starvation, and what further happened until the others got clear of the mountain forests.

THE men who came with Captain Peranzures having rested, they set out in the direction of the province of TACANA. Soon the provisions they found there were exhausted, and they could get nothing to sustain them. Working their way with the usual hard labour, at last they found a quantity of *cacao* which was a great help. For three days they marched through forests thick with these *cacao* trees, and when they were passed, the wayfarers came upon some fields of maize which, although not plentiful, was of great assistance to them. Otherwise the forest was very dense, and, as they had left most of their tools behind, they could not open a way through it. They were left in such a necessitous state that they could not even carry an ornament. So they were forced to bury the chalice and flagon in a place where they buried a Spaniard named Diego Daza. With great difficulty they at length reached the province of TACANA, which they found so densely covered with forest that they could make no progress in that part. The

Spaniards had now been wandering in the forests for five months, and as they were now quite without servants, they left behind them their clothes and other belongings, and even their arms. The captains again held a consultation, and decided that they must forthwith make the best of their way to Peru, for in no other way could they escape with life.

The country was so rough that the horses, when laden, could not travel, and those Spaniards who were not yet disabled by sickness had to carry on their shoulders such provisions as they found, for a distance of three or four leagues.

Peranzures wished to get out of this country for he had more than fifty Spaniards sick and unable to walk, and seeing that if he attempted to carry them on the horses all would be lost (for it was but too clear that the horses were their only means of carrying food) he called the Spaniards together and said that it was grievous to him to see so many sick and afflicted, without having any means of curing them or alleviating their sufferings. However, they were now near the land of Peru, where there would be remedies for all their ills. They must pluck up courage to get out of the forest, for the horses could not be used to carry them, as they must be laden with such food as they could get for the whole camp. When the sick men heard this, they replied that what he said was right, and, that with short marches, they would strive to keep up with the rest.

They resumed the march, covering short distances each day for the sake of the sick, yet several died on the road.

At last they came to a river called Tacana. It was so swollen that they could not cross it, for the horses had had no maize for six months, so they waited eight days for the water to go down. At last they got across with very great difficulty, but seven of the Spaniards were drowned. No more food was left. Some of the Spaniards losing their wits, talked to the trees, saying "Is there perchance anyone here who will give us a little maize," and then fell dead. Others "Is there no one to give us a little food such as dogs have in Spain" and then died. It was pitiable to hear the cries of the Indian men and women; the road was strewn with dead bodies, and the living ate the dead.

Brothers were no longer brothers at that time, and no one spoke but of the need they were suffering, and when they would be free from it. Some of the Spaniards bled the horses and drank the blood.

Peranzures continued his marches until at length he came to a place called QUIQUIJANA, and sent on fourteen Spaniards to see if they could find any food. But they found none. By this time sixty Spaniards had already died of hunger.

When a horse was killed, each quarter would be sold for three hundred *pesos*; the entrails were worth two hundred and the feet one hundred *pesos*, and those who bought gave such good written security, that the money was afterwards all recovered. Very great was the value of things that were abandoned during this expedition, including many vases of silver and gold.

No food whatever was found in the pueblo, and seeing that there was no help for it but to go on, they killed fourteen horses and ate them, not leaving a scrap, but there were hardly pots enough to cook them in, they were so tough; however, they were thus enabled to continue the march.

By this time one hundred and forty-three Spaniards had died of hunger and sickness, and over four thousand Indian men and women, and two hundred and twenty horses, which had cost five or six hundred *pesos* each, had been eaten.

After three days the survivors came to Ayaviri, the pueblo whence they had started. Here they found Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporredondo, brother of Peranzures, who was coming with succour at the head of seventy Spaniards, bringing plenty of food, which revived them, and indeed they were in dire need of it. They arrived so pale and haggard that none could recognize them.

APPENDIX C

(Chapters LXXIX, LXXXIV, LXXXV, xcii)

EXPEDITIONS OF ALONSO DE ALVARADO FROM
CHACHAPOYAS INTO THE HUALLAGA VALLEY
AND THE FAILURE OF CAPTAINS MERCADILLO
AND HERNANDO DE ALVARADO

CHAPTER LXXIX

How Captain ALONSO DE ALVARADO sent JUAN DE MORA to the city of Los Reyes to collect men and then set out on his conquest; and how MERCADILLO got ready for his expedition and sent LOPE MARTÍN to the city of Los Reyes.

WHILE the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro was at Jauja, the Captain Alonso de Alvarado arrived there, and brought with him Don Diego Almagro the son of the Adelantado, and Gómez de Alvarado (brother of the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was Governor of the province of Guatemala). Young Diego and Gómez de Alvarado went on to Lima. The Captain Alonso de Alvarado then said to the Governor that he desired to undertake an expedition to Chachapoyas, and to found a city in the province he had discovered. The Governor said that the proposal was good, and had his approval. Alonso de Alvarado then set out with the men he had brought from Cuzco, sending one Juan de Mora to Lima to enlist more men, because he intended to advance his discovery as far as he could beyond Chachapoyas. Juan de Mora went to Lima and engaged sixty men, and procured some crossbows and small pieces of artillery¹.

Hernando Pizarro had named Alonso de Mercadillo as captain to explore and settle (the land of the) GUANCACHUPACHOS. When he arrived at Jauja, the Governor approved of the selection, and ordered Mercadillo to proceed on that service, which he did, first sending Lope Martín to engage more men in Lima. Mercadillo advanced to the province of the CHUCHUPACHOS, and he found it in insurrection, as well as those of BOMBON, TARAMA and the ATAVILLOS. For Villatopa was tyrannizing over them with many barbarians who followed him, and had ruined many pueblos of these Indians. Others were moved to rise against the Spaniards and make war upon them. Captain Mercadillo, seeing that the country was so disturbed, began to attack the natives and had some encounters with them, giving them such a lesson that some of them came to sue for peace. Those who came with this object were supplied with food and taken into the service of the Spaniards. Here Mercadillo waited for Lope Martín, who joined him, in a short time, with fifty Spaniards, which was a good reinforcement.

¹ At this time Gómez de Alvarado appears to have joined Alonso de Alvarado at Chachapoyas.

Mercadillo desired to penetrate into the interior provinces to complete his discoveries, but the natives declared that it would be necessary to do so with a very large force, for otherwise they would all be killed. On hearing this Mercadillo sent Lope Martín back to Lima for more men, and he enlisted sixty-three including carpenters and smiths to build boats, in case they wanted to cross rivers. Lope Martín returned to Mercadillo, who then finding himself in command of 185 Spaniards, horse and foot, set out with this force, going down to the river of the CHUCHUPACHOS. His Quartermaster was Hernando Gascon. In order to reach the inhabited provinces which they went to explore, the guides said that, proceeding by that river, they should always keep it on their right, working their way to the east, for, by the other way, they would come to the country of Chachapoyas, where Alonso de Alvarado was stationed. But Mercadillo would not take the advice of the Indians, nor even of the Spaniards, and advanced towards the east by paths so rough and dangerous, and such lofty mountains, that almost all the horses fell down precipices. This Captain Mercadillo was so ill-conditioned and wayward a man that his people hated him, and he disliked them, and did not know how to treat them decently. He also had an abominable vice of swearing and then perjuring himself, for which reasons he was detested by the Spaniards. Following the route he had chosen, he arrived at a province called MAINA inhabited by a numerous and warlike tribe. Here Mercadillo and his followers, finding supplies of food, remained for a month and a half. It was agreed that the track should be sought out with guides belonging to that tribe. The Spaniards set out in squads, and found that it appeared they could travel with horses.

From this province of MAINA the Spaniards took a westerly course, for the Indians told them that, by that way, they would find great riches, and a thickly peopled country. Mercadillo, hearing what the Indians said, wanted to see that land. But as men who do not walk on the straight path are always misled by their own thoughts, and are tormented by their consciences, he did not confide in anyone. As he knew that Alonso de Alvarado, who was very popular, was in that part, he feared that if they should come into touch together, his own people would desert him and join Alvarado. So, to avoid this check, which he viewed as a very serious hindrance, he ordered his force to abandon the road they were taking, and to take another in an easterly direction. This route was so rough and overgrown that the horses could not advance, and they came to very great rivers and uninhabited wilds where there was no food. The Spaniards said one to another that

it was an evil thing to follow a man of so little ability as this one, that no captain who was a bad Christian could succeed in anything, and there was much discontent. After having gone seven days' journey along this most difficult route, they came to a mountain range which was so precipitous that they could not pass over it. They then formed their camp, and it was decided to send some Spaniards, with Indian servants, in search of food. However, they could find none, and when they returned all were dismayed at having nothing to eat.

Mercadillo was much alarmed. He summoned the Indian guides and interpreters to his tent, and with only two Spaniards who messed with him, he asked if, by chance, they could reach a region of which he had heard, called ISCAICINGA. It was said that the Indians who lived there were big men, and that they had their noses torn between the nostrils, and because of that they were called Iscaicinga which means "*two noses*¹." The guides and interpreters said that it was impossible to travel through such vast forests as were between them and the country Mercadillo mentioned. If they attempted it they would all die, none escaping with life. Captain Mercadillo, rather than go back or approach the part where Alonso de Alvarado was established, was disposed to continue in the same direction, even if they should all perish. This was a course which, in my opinion, showed great temerity. A Spaniard named Cazalla, learning that Mercadillo had resolved to continue the same route and having heard what the Indians said, thought that in order to avoid such a disaster it would be prudent to impart this information to some of the principal people in the expedition. So he went off to speak to the quartermaster Hernando Gascon, to Lope Martín, to Francisco de Santillana, to one Villegas, to Cáceres and to others, and told them what the Indians had said and that Mercadillo was determined to proceed, and they must consider what it would be best to do. The principal officers of the expedition, after consultation, determined to go to their leader and urge him to return and choose a safer route. If he refused they would ask him what he knew of the route he proposed to take, and if he did not tell the truth they resolved to return whether he liked it or not. So they went together to Mercadillo and said to him that, being their captain and a Christian, he ought to return to the province of MAINA whence they had started, and there he could find out which was the best way to go to the province of ISCAICINGA. Captain Alonso de Mercadillo answered that he was not thinking of going back, nor would he discuss the question with them, for it was here that they must

¹ *Yscay*, two; *Senca*, nose.

enter the land, which was not very distant. They then asked him what he knew of the road, and his reply was contrary to the truth. So seeing how obstinate he was about proceeding by that difficult road, they went back to their tents. When Mercadillo's determination was known throughout the camp, the people came to those who had spoken to him, in great anxiety. They said that they were men practised in war, and that it could not be permitted that they should all perish owing to the mad whims and opinions of Mercadillo. Sending for a notary they made him prepare a petition, protesting against the evils that would be caused by not returning to the province of Maina, and imploring Mercadillo to do what was necessary. Mercadillo replied that nothing was necessary, that he would not go back, nor desist from pushing forward. On the failure of this petition they drew up another in the same sense and Mercadillo, seeing that the petition was seriously intended, replied that they should sign their names to it; and he had scarcely said this when the whole camp came to sign. Mercadillo, however, had no intention of going back. Seeing that everyone wanted to sign the petition, he ordered them to drop it or he would punish them. Then the quartermaster and Lope Martín laid hands on him, saying that this was no time for pretence, and the other principal officers agreed with the quartermaster and supported him, and they put irons and a chain on Captain Mercadillo, who was then much alarmed. With sad words he appealed to the soldiers not to see their leader made a prisoner and treated in such a way, but his appeal did not serve, for all were against him. After he had been arrested, they drew up a statement of the oaths he had taken, and of other things which concerned the Holy Inquisition. They then returned to Jauja, where we will leave them.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

How Captain ALONSO DE ALVARADO set out from Jauja to go to Chachapoyas, and how he founded the city of La Frontera.

THE captain Alonso de Alvarado, having received permission from the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro to set out on his expedition to Chachapoyas, left Jauja for the provinces of the GUANCACHUPACHOS. The tyrant VILLATOPA was apprised of his approach, and gathered round him as many Indians as he could, telling them that the Spaniards who were coming were few, and that they should attack them with great courage and kill them all. Thus exhorted, the barbarians found heart to attack the Christians.

Alvarado had reached some snow-covered wastes with the intention of seeking for this same tyrant VILLATOPA; who came out with a large force of Indians, taking Alvarado by surprise. But in spite of that the Indians gained no success, and left many killed and wounded on the field. Among the Spaniards one Hernando de Mora was badly wounded. After this Alvarado continued his march and arrived in Chachapoyas, where some caciques and chiefs came out peacefully and showed much pleasure at his arrival. There, in the valley, Alvarado founded and peopled the city of La Frontera in the name of the Governor Pizarro. As soon as the city was founded Alonso de Alvarado sent all round the district for the Indians to come and render service and do obeisance to His Majesty. Indians came to the new city from all parts, bringing supplies for the Spaniards. The captain, as a good administrator, desirous of perpetuating his new settlement, ordered Spaniards and natives to lose no time in building houses and sowing the fields. But he desired that the natives should not be overworked, and should be well treated. In this he truly showed himself to be a father to the Indians. Nothing made him more angry than to hear that any Spaniard had ill-treated a native, and if such an offence came to his knowledge, he punished it with the utmost rigour. In Huarochiri he even flogged two men for robbing natives of their provisions. He promptly fixed the tribute the Indians were to pay to the Spaniards. Now that more men had arrived from Lima, and Alvarado now had a strong force of Spaniards, as he had information of rich regions beyond the river of Moyobamba, he decided, while leaving a sufficient reserve in the new city, to go and explore them. Many knew that he wished to undertake that enterprise, and said they would gladly follow him.

CHAPTER LXXXV

How Captain ALONSO DE ALVARADO set out from the City of La Frontera to explore the provinces of Moyobamba, and what happened to him on the journey.

THE Indians had told Alvarado that beyond the river Moyobamba was a very populous and rich country, but that the natives were warlike and very ignorant; they were accustomed to eat each other, and were vicious in all things. Alvarado ordered those who were to accompany him to get ready, and he left Gómez de Alvarado to take his place in the city, ordering him to be vigilant, not to allow injury to be done to natives, nor any affront to be offered them, but to see that Indians as well as Spaniards lived in rectitude.

So leaving the new city tranquil he set out with rather more than one hundred and twenty Spaniards, horse and foot, all skilled and practised in warfare with natives, which they had followed for many years, and three or four thousand friendly Indians; and he was well supplied with arms, provisions, and all things necessary for a campaign. Marching through the province of Chachapoyas, he came to Moyobamba and had some encounters with the Indians, who were easily defeated. Here information was obtained that, across the route, there was a very great and rough forest, into which the horses could not possibly penetrate. On hearing this, Captain Alvarado, always alert in warlike affairs, ordered a citizen of the city of San Juan de La Frontera, named Juan de Rojas, to go forward with forty Spanish foot soldiers, and find out the nature of the country ahead, and return as quickly as possible. Rojas took Indians with him as guides and after some days he came to a country of dense forest, and many rivers, some of them so deep that they were not fordable. The further he advanced the more difficult became the track, and he could find no way out of that wild.

Juan de Rojas was so anxious to discover something useful, that he went on for more than forty days, without eating any bread or meat, or anything but *yuca*, and water. Of the latter there was more than enough, both falling from the skies and in the numerous rivers they had to cross. During all this time he discovered nothing that could be of any use, nor could he get free from forests, and rivers, and ravines full of great thickets and cane-brakes. There were a few habitations of natives throughout this region, but so poor that there was nothing in them but a stone on which to make bread, a pot for cooking, and a mat to sleep on.

Truly if these natives were not wanting in faith and followed our religion I should look upon them as happy and fortunate. For they neither sin by stealing, nor are they addicted to idleness by shirking work, nor are they proud, nor wishful to command others, nor do they desire more than to live by the work of their own hands. While making these explorations Captain Juan de Rojas was told by some bush natives that, much further on, there was an end to these dense forests, and that a very good land would be reached towards where the sun rises, and that a very great river flowed in that direction, but although he received this information, Juan de Rojas found it impossible to advance further. So, after having overcome great difficulties and suffered terrible hardships he decided to return to where he had left the camp of Alonso de Alvarado, who was not at all satisfied at his long delay; for he and all his followers had great hopes that Rojas would return with good news, and that all would find profit in the newly discovered country. While returning by a way which seemed to be shorter, Rojas and his party passed a night on the banks of a river. It poured with rain to such an extent during the night that the Spaniards were in great danger of death, for the river rose and flooded the banks, in such a way that if God our Lord had not provided thick and tall trees up which the explorers climbed, they would all have been drowned. Next day, when the fury of the waters had subsided, they continued the journey and arrived at the place where they had left Captain Alonso de Alvarado. As they were seen to come in such a sorry plight, it was felt that they brought bad news, and the people assembled round the tent of the captain to learn the truth; and when they heard it they were all afflicted and distressed, many saying that they had been ill-advised in coming to explore the country which was not even fit for wild beasts to inhabit.

Before these Spaniards returned, Captain Alonso de Alvarado had been on an expedition of discovery in another direction, on foot and without any horses. Like Juan de Rojas he found nothing but forests and rivers, and had returned to the camp much disheartened at not finding any way to enter the unknown country. His disappointment was very great, but when they spoke of returning, he strove to give his men new courage by saying that they must not be afflicted at the news brought by Juan de Rojas, for that he was about to undertake an exploration in person, as he felt certain that when they had passed the forest in front of them, they would reach a good land where all would be satisfied. The soldiers answered cheerfully that they would go wherever he led them. Yet there were not wanting some who grumbled and said

that it was great imprudence to go on. When Alvarado heard what these men said, the punishment he gave them was to declare publicly that those soldiers who wished to follow him, on certain information he had received, should do so, and those who did not like to do so might remain behind. Captain Alvarado said this because he always held that war should not be waged with unwilling men, and that a forced man was never of any use. His view was that if, of two hundred men, only one was discontented, it was enough to cause disquiet among the rest. When Alvarado gave his men the choice, all with one voice declared that they would follow him.

CHAPTER XCII

Treats of other things done by Captain ALONSO DE ALVARADO, how he heard the news that the province had revolted, and left his brother HERNANDO DE ALVARADO in charge of his force and himself returned to the city of La Frontera.

THE country which the captain Alonso de Alvarado undertook to discover was that of the MOTILONES. He set out with seventy Spaniards, and told the rest of his men to remain where they were until they received further orders. Marching by forests and valleys he presently reached the land of the MOTILONES. These people had but small supplies of provisions, their dwellings lay far apart, and there were large rivers. After marching for some days they came upon a very great and rapid river¹ which rises in those forests, and flows to the north. Alvarado had explored as far as this river, and he was the first to arrive at it. On receiving information that there were more people further on, and a country suited for settlement, he desired to cross to the other side of the river; but he had no means of doing so, and there were no fords by which the horses could cross. He then sent for the rest of the men who were left at the camp and ordered a barge to be built, and the Spaniards were employed to cut down trees for building it, which they did willingly in His Majesty's service. Just as they were beginning to build the craft, the captain received news that the Indians who were subjects of the new city had rebelled and thrown off the yoke of the Spaniards. This was true, for when the natives of Chachapoyas saw that the captain was absent, they would not come to serve nor pay tribute, nor do anything for their masters. Though Gómez de Alvarado, with his Spaniards, endeavoured to quiet them,

¹ The Huallaga, an affluent of the Marañón.

it did not suffice. When Alonso de Alvarado heard of the rising in Chachapoyas, and of the unquiet state of the natives, he determined to return there at once, ordering his brother Hernando de Alvarado to remain with the people, and push forward the construction of the barge, and then, crossing the river, to find out the character of the country on the other side. Hernando de Alvarado replied that he would carry out his brother's orders, who having settled matters at his camp promptly returned to the city of La Frontera. He was received with great joy by the Spaniards, while many of the Indian caciques, fearing the consequences of their rising, came in peacefully, offering excuses although it was clear they were neither just nor relevant. The captain told them that they should not rebel, but continue their friendship for the Spaniards, for they knew their great power, and that they could make war as well as maintain peace. They answered that they would never rebel again. After he had quieted the natives of Chachapoyas, the captain visited the surrounding districts which were subject to the city.

As soon as Captain Alonso de Alvarado had left the river Moyobamba, Hernando de Alvarado pushed on the building of the barge, and completed it. He had news that on the other side of the river, after fifteen days' journey, and passing through a great forest, a plain country would be reached. There would be found a great lake, and that on its banks there lived an Orejón¹ of the lineage of the Incas named ANCOLLAO; also that besides this lord, there were others who were rich and powerful. Owing to this rumour, the Spaniards, always eager and desirous of discovering new lands, were anxious to press forward and ascertain whether the news were true or not. As the barge was finished, the Spaniards crossed over to the other side of the river, with their horses. They then tried, in various directions, to penetrate the hills and forests, and, although they long persevered, they could not find any way to pass onwards. When they asked the Indians how they should go to the countries they had described, they replied that they did not know, and that they had only related what their ancestors had handed down to them; so that no one was willing to say that he knew the road. This country of MOYOBAMBA is unhealthy, and it rains during the greater part of the year. It is full of bad places, great hills and forests, and many rivers large and small. As Hernando de Alvarado had tried to pass onwards in many directions without success, the Spaniards were very tired, and they resolved to go back to the river and cross it in the same barge. Hernando de Alvarado determined to form a settlement in the

¹ *Nobleman.*

new province, and this seemed good to some of the Spaniards. But others, at the instance of a friar of the order of La Merced, named Fray Gonzalo, would not stay to settle or for any other purpose. Such is the freedom and privilege of the friars in this country, that they are allowed to cause sedition in the royal armies, and there has been no rising or rebellion in these kingdoms without the friars being at the bottom of it. In all assemblies and consultations they want to have a bigger voice than the captains themselves. This is to be understood of *some* of them, for others are good and holy. If I should say all I know and feel, some of them might be displeased when they see this book. Things were brought to such a pass that some of the soldiers wanted to mutiny, and even to kill Hernando de Alvarado. When he knew this he prudently left Moyobamba, and returned to the city of La Frontera where Captain Alonso de Alvarado was engaged in pacifying the province. For these reasons, and in this state of things, the exploration which had been commenced by the captain Alonso de Alvarado was abandoned.

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